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IV. APPAREL AND ORNAMENT

Clothing

In general the Tukuna of today wear the same poor sort of apparel as the Neo-291 brazilians of the same region, but many of them also have quite regular clothes, [177] some of which they make themselves from purchased material. Their ambition is to possess also a felt hat and a pair of shoes, although even under the best conditions shoes incommode them horribly, and few own them. Their best clothing is carefully kept for festive occasions. On workdays they wear only the oldest and [515] most patched fragments, which, though ragged, are not dirty, for the Tukuna will not tolerate the stench of filthy garments.

Even today the women of the igarapés will walk about the house or clearing naked from the waist up, and the men, when going to hunt, wear only an old, torn pair of trousers; sometimes they hitch them up by the belt to form a sort of loincloth. The children go naked until about five years of age.

The reports of the ancient dress vary. The earliest observer, Padre Monteiro 291 Noronha in 1768, states: "The women have no modesty at all; the men still cover 175 the parts destined for procreation with wide fringes of thread twisted from a certain white tow which they obtain from tree bark."[1] According to Tessmann, the men went completely naked, with the sexual parts in natural position, whereas the women used an unpainted, triangular piece of tururí cloth (*Ficusbastzeug*). Apparently this account of the men's attire requires revision. Actually, the glans was tucked beneath the waist belt. This custom was not only confirmed by my informants but is also mentioned in the culture-hero legend, which tells of *e'pi:* "He pulls his penis from behind the waist belt and dances about the fire.... With [773] this his penis was shaken up. tĕčlarɲuɨ' saw this from her hiding place and could [539] not resist laughing." (See p. 127.)

The festive attire of the men was composed of two small semicircular tangas, 292 one in front and one in back. These were made of painted white tururí cloth just like those worn today by the boys during the rites of passage, *ceremonias de passagem* (pl. 12, m). It is probably this garment to which Spix refers as "einen zierlichen Gürtel aus Bast," and which Henry Lister Maw calls "a belt of bark round the waist."[2] In Spix's plate, however, the Tukuna—except one who is completely nude, with the penis in natural position—are all dressed in a nondescript cloth.

According to Castelnau, "une feuille est fixée autour des reins."[3] The plate in 291 the second volume of Bates's work—probably, in spite of some obvious errors, the best illustration of the Tukuna of early times—shows men and women with a tanga hanging in front of a thick belt. In Barbosa Rodrigues' illustration[4] the Indian male wears over the sexual parts a small covering, which is not clear in the plate. The text mentions "bands of the same textile [cotton] with which they cover the sexual parts."

[1] Monteiro Noronha, Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará, § 140.
[2] Maw, p. 211.
[3] Castelnau, 5:45.
[4] Barbosa Rodrigues, Ticunas, p. 53.

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who attended earlier Tukuna ceremonies.[2] Maw writes that the arrival of the masked dancers "was announced by a noise (I think by beating a kind of a drum)" and only Bates, in 1857, speaks of a "monotonous see-saw and stamping dance accompanied by singing and drumming."[3]

There are no drums or dance staves in the illustration "Maskenzug der Ticunas" in Spix's atlas, nor are there any in Bates's. However, the European-type drum was spread among tribes to the north of the Amazon, whence it could have come to the Tukuna through other Indians; and Spix attended a dance among the Passé and Yuirí that he characterized as a "nationalen Militärmarsch."[4] However, in this place there was also a foreign military detachment.

Spix gives us an indication of what was probably the original form of the Tukuna drum. Describing the entrance of the masked dancers, he writes: "Den Beschluss machte ein altes hässliches, ganz schwarz bemaltes Weib welches auf einer getrockneten Schilkrötenschale einen einförmigen Tact schlug."[5]

Even today this type of drum, called po:'vi, or təri'—from tracajá, "turtle," because it is always made of turtle shell—is used along with the other wood-and-leather drum, although only for specific ceremonies and in a way which differs from that shown in Spix's illustration. Furthermore, the shell is usually much larger, the ones in Spix's plate being from 50 to 60 cm. long. A rod for striking the drum is securely tied on it in a horizontal position. The drum, with the plastron facing up, is hung horizontally from the house roof, about 1 m. from the ground, the two ends of the rod being held by two men, one of whom handles the drumstick while the other shakes the rattle. The head of the drumstick is wrapped in tururí bark cloth. Grasping the rod of the drum, the two men dance four paces to the front and four to the rear. Behind them dance the others.

The text of the chants sung on this occasion refers to the turtle and consists of the repetition of a few words:

1. The turtle is our child.
2. The soft place in the black mud.
3. The cove of the river of half-white water.
4. The grey ambaúvas are his resting place.
5. Like the royal hawk I seize my turtle.
6. His lake has muddied [troubled] water.

and so forth. A strange element is the use of Tupí words in these chants: river, panana' (Tupí, parana'; Tukuna, ta/tị), and royal hawk, virava' (Tupí, wịra-wasu'; Tukuna, da:vị).

At a fixed moment the two men remove the drum from the cord and, holding it by the ends of the rod, take a few turns with it about the house where the feast is being celebrated, accompanied by the other dancers. This instrument, as well as the dance form, appears to me to be entirely aboriginal.

The large xylophone (slit drums), *torocána* in the lingua geral, were never used by the Tukuna, who only know of them from the Witóto and Miránya.

[2] Spix and Martius, p. 1188; Maw, p. 220.
[3] Bates, 2:405.
[4] Spix and Martius, p. 1186.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1188.

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As Tessmann has already observed, there are no transversal flutes or clarinets of the type known as *torá*. A signal horn made of a simple piece of thick bamboo with a lateral opening, closed on one side and open on the other, is invariably carried in the canoe for signaling the arrival of people and for calling them.

Panpipes commonly consist of eight tubes of bamboo (the longest being 15 cm.), joined by two pairs of rattan lashings (fig. 7, *b*). Panpipes are not played in pairs. The Tukuna name for them is čə̈'kʉ or dʉrə'tʉ (Loreto). Loreto is the name of a sub-Andean department of Peru, pronounced in the Tukuna manner "dʉrə'tʉ" which makes one suppose that the instrument has come from that region.

There is a kind of ocarina (pʊ|'čane) made from the seed of the *umarí* (*Porqueiba* sp.), and a clay whistle in the shape of a frog (və:'tavë, a name which imitates the frog's croak). Tessmann erroneously calls it *tó'ke*,[1] which is actually the name of a large megaphone (tɔ'/k|).

The Tukuna learned from the Neobrazilians not only how to play the violin but also how to make it, and on the Rio Jaeurapá there was an Indian whose violins were sought after by civilized persons—until the authorities of São Paulo de Olivença ordered his arrest for tax evasion (see p. 138). In spite of the attraction this instrument has for the Tukuna, they produce very little music from it, never playing their tribal melodies but only those which they learn from festivities of Neobrazilians in the region, who, for their part, are far from possessing the musical talent of the northeastern Brazilians.

Pottery

One finds evidence in the kitchen that the Tukuna still produce pottery. This art is principally practiced by women, but not exclusively so, for many men also perform this task to perfection, whereas many women never devote themselves to it.

In all the igarapés inhabited by the Tukúna, a plastic potters' clay of good quality is found more or less frequently; it almost always occurs in the sloughs at the foot of the high bluffs along the river. This raw material is accorded a certain respect, since its patron is an aquatic monster, dyë'vaë, which at times presents itself in the form of the western rainbow.

The clay is said to become useless if a pregnant woman touches or even approaches it: it will not bind, and the jars, on drying, will shatter into pieces. It is considered very dangerous for a woman in this condition to go to the bank to fetch clay, as illustrated by the following legend.[2]

Once, a group of women went to a bank to collect clay for pottery. A woman big with child insisted on accompanying them in spite of the others counseling her not to. The others had already dug out the clay that they needed and had piled it on the bank, where they were still standing when the pregnant woman, seeing nothing suspicious, went down to dig clay, too. She squatted down in the middle of the pit, which was half-filled with water, and took out clay with both hands. Suddenly, dyë'vaë, down at the bottom, allowed a muffled roar to be heard. The women on the bank heard it and cried out: "The owner of the clay is angry! Come up quickly!"

"What is the matter?" replied the pregnant one. "I heard nothing." And she continued to dig. She had just taken out a good quantity of clay when a muffled thunderclap was heard.

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.
[2] Cf. the legend of tau/čipë, p. 120.

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539 "Come up, come up!" screamed her companions. But she replied: "It is nothing. A thunderstorm is approaching." But when she still continued, a stronger clap of thunder was heard. Then, frightened, she attempted to get out of the clay pit, but the furious dyë'vaü seized her, pulled her to the bottom, and she was never seen again.

323 *Ceramic technique.*—The clay, at first a yellowish gray, is mixed with a large percentage of husk ash of the *caruipe* (T., pu'ru),[9] which gives it a darker color.

The potter works with the material on top of a wooden slab, on which is placed a round, green leaf of a sort of liana called ečí-pa'tị, one of the Menispermaceae. On the small base of all Tukuna vases one always notes the impressions of the leaf veins of this plant. After making this small, circular, bottom piece, the potter constructs the vase, raising the sides by laying hoops of clay one on top of the other and pressing them together with the fingers (pl. 7, *f*). The sides are then scraped

[415]

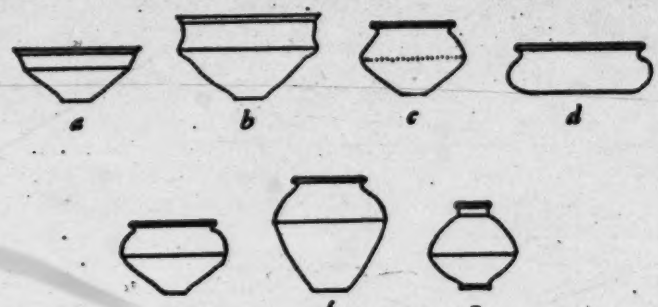

Fig. 8. Pottery. *a*, *b*. Large bowls, × 3/13. *c*, *d*. Pots, × 3/13. *e*, *f*. Jars, × 1/13. *g*. Jug, × 1/13.

to the desired thickness with a rectangular piece of gourd rounded at the corners, [237] or with the plug of a snail shell, and the lip of the vase is smoothed with a piece of moistened fungus (*orelha de pau*).

The potter, coming to the widest part of the vase, props it up so that the still soft sides will not fall in through their own weight; she uses small supports of the frondstalk of the burity palm, or a hoop, with attached supports, made from a piece of the stalk. Propped up in this way, the piece is left to dry slowly in the shade. After the clay has become so firm that the shoring may be dispensed with, the surface of the piece is carefully polished with a seed stone of the anajá palm.

The ware is fired in the yard in an inverted position, covered with fine kindling and pieces of dry tree bark.

323 The pots (buetë'rë), when not completely lacking in decoration, show rows of
531 impressions below the lip or at the point of greatest diameter (fig. 8, *c*, *d*). The plates and bowls, both called čuri in Tukuna, never have handles. Pots and igaçabas (T., bar|', jars for fermented drinks) are almost always painted with a white or gray mineral base with the designs in red (urucú), which turns maroon after firing.

The water jugs, tç"|[9] (fig. 8, *g*; pl. 6, *b*), are globular or subglobular, with a short neck. The jars, which sometimes have a height of 80 cm. and an almost equal diameter, are conical in the lower part, subglobular in the upper. These are always

[9] *Licania scabra* Hook, a wood rich in silicate.

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under this treatment.[7] The upper platform is not full of smoke, for the Tukuna do not use the dwelling for cooking, and it is no dirtier than the rest of the house. No diet is prescribed; and, if one girl did die during this seclusion, her death was certainly not due to any cause related to it. 881

Herndon, after some relatively good information, continues: "It is said that she frequently conceals her situation from her family, preferring a sound beating, when time betrays her, to the dreary imprisonment."[8] Certainly, many civilized girls would act in the same way under the same conditions, but that a Tukuna girl would resort to similar expedients appears very improbable to me for the simple reason that, like her relatives, she considers seclusion a measure demanded by her delicate condition and promptly submits to it for fear of the evil consequences of some oversight. This cautious behavior is because the individual of either sex is believed subject, above all at the time of puberty, to extraordinary and supernatural experiences and to contact with immortals, ĵi'ne (see p. 137). The vərẽkĵ is surrounded by invisible demons, ñɔɔ' (see p. 89), so that any carelessness on the part of those responsible for her, primarily her mother and paternal aunt, or any negligence of her own may have the gravest consequences. Many stories illustrating this danger are told to the girl, as witness the following tales:

a) The puberty ceremony was drawing to a close. Just before midnight the paternal uncle insisted that the vərẽkĵ be withdrawn from seclusion before waiting for the proper hour [before dawn; see p. 88]. He and the rest of the guests were already drunk. He no longer knew what he was doing. They brought down the vərẽkĵ from the seclusion room but, instead of dancing with her until daybreak, they left her standing alone in the center of the house and, paying her no further attention, proceeded to get completely soused. 881 773 539

Then there arrived a demon, ɔ/mi' [a monster in the form of a gigantic lizard], which had taken the shape of a handsome youth. He danced with the vərẽkĵ up and down the festive house, then outside in the yard, and finally carried her off to the forest, where there was a ruined old house, his dwelling. In this house there was still an old rocking-board [quiriçá]. He placed the girl beside him in the trough [of the quiriçá], sucked out her flesh and blood, and killed her.

When the assembled guests awoke from their drunken stupor, they immediately searched for the vərẽkĵ, first in the seclusion room and then in the yard. Following the trail of hawk feathers with which she had been decorated, they finally found her at the bottom of the quiriçá beside ɔ/mi', who had covered himself with the girl's toucan feathers.[9] When they lifted her up, her dry bones rattled inside her empty skin. They killed ɔ/mi', whose lizard feet were the size of a small bench, more or less [5 cm. in diameter].

b) The final rites of the puberty ceremony had started. In the feast house they were drinking, and no one, not even the mother, paid any attention to the vərẽkĵ, who was still in the seclusion room. But instead of passing the night on foot, as tradition prescribes, the vərẽkĵ lay down in her hammock and slept. Behold, a band of monsters in the shape of enormous black grasshoppers came and jumped over her, sucking out her flesh and blood. Finally, her mother, remembering the girl, thrust her hand through a crack in the wall of the seclusion room, shaking the edge of the hammock, and called: "Awake, my daughter!" With this, she heard the sound of dry bones rattling. Entering the room, she discovered that in the hammock lay only the skin of her daughter with the bones inside. The guests assembled at the feast searched the trail and discovered the crack through which the monsters had entered. They were still clinging to the outside wall of the house, bloated with their repast, and there they were all killed.

[7] Bates, p. 406.
[8] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:237.
[9] See the description of the girl's ceremonial costume.

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881 .773 539 *e*) A girl was in seclusion; a feast was about to be celebrated. Aside from her, there was no one in the house. In the kitchen there lay beneath a cover on the platform (giráu) all the smoked game for the feast. Suddenly, through a crack in the wall of her room, the vərëkị observed a smoked monkey descend from the platform. Seizing a blowgun, it began to dance with this up and down the kitchen. Then a roasted sloth also clambered down, going first to the fireplace to warm itself, then it searched for the rattle stick, which was already prepared for the feast, and in its turn began to dance to and fro. After some time both returned to the platform.

As soon as her mother returned to the house, the vərëkị told her what she had seen. The mother went to the smoked meat on the platform, examined the sloth, and, seeing that it was dirty with ashes, believed what her daughter had told her. "Nothing like this has ever happened before; I believe that you are going to die!" she said to her daughter. And sure enough, the following morning the girl lay dead in her seclusion room.

342 881 [616] Formerly, a small room, na-pi^{a}i^{a} (pl. 11, *a*) was made for the girl as soon as possible, against the east wall of the house if she belonged to moiety A, against the west wall if she belonged to moiety B. This little retreat was circular, two meters in diameter or a little more, and had no floor, since the vərëkị sleeps in her hammock throughout her seclusion. The walls are made of long, white strips of burity, tied with cipó firmly together in horizontal bands. These extend from the floor to the roof thatch, where their tips are bent toward the front. On the left side (looking at the room) there is a door, closed by a kind of hanging mat made from [285] burity frondstalks set in a horizontal position and held firm by two vertical rods. Often today the seclusion room is square and is not erected where it should be, because the position of the house on the banks of the Solimões or igapó does not permit it. In general, to make such a room, people are called together for a work [476] party (uajurí) to which, above all, members of the clans of the vərëkị's moiety are invited.

881 *Preparations for the feast.*—The preparations for the feast which now begins may take more than two months, sometimes requiring even one or two more work parties. Nowadays, what really delays completion of the preparations is the difficulty of collecting a sufficient quantity of smoked game for the number of guests; [136] game is now rare in the country (p. 26), and even fish are not caught easily.

[252] The game is roasted on a forked grill, first in the jungle and later in the kitchen, where it is then stored on its own large, covered platform. When the last pieces arrive, the first are already desiccated to the point where they more or less resemble charred wood. At the same time, the women prepare alcoholic drinks, of [273] which a sufficient quantity is required not only for the feast itself but also for the preliminary work party. In the meantime the date of the celebration must be calculated, so that the invitations may be issued.

881 574 *Invitations.*—Two invitations are given for any celebration: the first advising of the approximate time with relation to the phase of the moon ("in the first full moon"), the other fixing the exact day that the ceremony begins. Feasts are preferably held during the full moon, not because any magical influence is attributed to it but simply because it is much more agreeable to have the house and yard of the ceremony flooded with moonlight than plunged in darkness.

881 574 202 Invitations are delivered personally by the host, that is, by the vərëkị's father or by a person especially charged by him. The messenger travels from house to house informing the residents that the celebration is drawing near and that the

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different colors, for which he and dyəi' went out to search in a claybank at the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo; it is in this paint that the taboo of the tɔ'/k] is especially concentrated. The legend of tɔɔ'ëna reflects the implacable punishment by dyəi' of a transgressor. The following is a literal translation from the original Tukuna text.

dyəi' was making ready his feast. He made the uariciána rise. Then tɔɔ'ëna wished to see the uariciána of dyəi'. With her sister she went round them to the front. She climbed up [a tree] in front while her sister hid to one side of the path. They came beneath her with the uariciánas. She suddenly became frightened at a painting of herself. She asked them: "Oh, grandfather, where didst thou kill thy alligator?" [By now hallucinated because of the uariciána painting, she thought she saw an alligator.] She urinated much and, pa'!, fell. Then they took advantage of the situation, to kill her. Later, they returned after having killed tɔɔ'ëna. They cut her into quarters in the place of the uariciánas on the banks of the ë'varë [a small tributary on the right bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, a little below the place where dyəi' dwelt], and that is why the ë'varë is the color of blood, because they quartered tɔɔ'ëna there. Afterward they smoked her flesh.

At midnight the uariciána sounded again. They brought the mush [made of tɔɔ'ëna's flesh] to the feast. dyəi' summoned everyone, including her mother and sister. dyəi' painted the hollows beneath their eyes with soot from cooking vessels, in order to kill them if they smeared the soot by weeping. Then dyəi' called her soul [through the uariciána]:

"The piston flutes [that is, the players who go before the uariciánas] have already slain me, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst leave me for a while, the beads about my waist did move before thee, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst send me to the spring, my hair waved before thee, oh, Mother! Yonder on the spit of land tawegi'ne [name of dyəi''s house] my flesh is smoked, oh Mother!"

In the journal of Padre Samuel Fritz there is a report on the use, in 1691, of the uariciána, probably the bu'/bu, among the Yurimagua of the now extinct village of Nossa Senhora das Neves (which was on an island of the Solimões near the present Fonte Bôa).

What I unearthed was unusual in this Yurimagua village; they were celebrating a feast when, from the hut where I lay, I heard the playing of a flute which caused me such a fright that I could not suffer its sound; I ordered them to cease blowing, and inquired what it was; to which they answered that in this manner they signaled and called to Guaricana,[11] who was the Devil, and who since the times of their forefathers came and attended their villages visibly, and for whom they always made a house away from the village in the forest, and there they brought him drink and the ill for him to cure. I went on to ask with what visage the figure appeared. The *curaca*[12] named Mativa answered me: "Father, I cannot explain it, I know only that it is horrible, and when it comes all the women and children flee, only the brave remain, and then the Devil takes a lash, which we have prepared from a strip of leather from the sea cow, and he whips us on the breast until much blood is drawn. In the absence of the Devil, the whipper was an old man from whom we received great scars on our breasts. This is done, it is said, to make us valiant. The form that he used to take was that of a tiger, pig, and other animals; sometimes he became a giant, at other times a dwarf."

I asked further if he had said anything about me to them, or whether he would kill me, but they said that the words were not clear, "and since thou didst come," said the *curaca*, "the first time that thou didst plant the Cross, he does not wish to come any more to the village, or to cure any more the sick which some carry to his house; for this purpose we now bring them to you, so that they may receive the Gospel and not die."

[11] "Guaricuya" in the Evora MS.

[12] In Peru, a native chief who receives his authority from the whites, i.e., a cacique; in Brazil he is called a *tuixáua*.

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The costumes.—Tukuna costumes are not related to the ceremonial musical instruments. The costumes appear as often at the hair-plucking and ear-piercing ceremony as they do at the girl's puberty festival, but not at the hair-clipping ceremony or at the work parties. Not actually taboo, they are brought secretly to the festive spot, where all the owners meet in one or two places hidden in the jungle near the house. There the costumes are put on and are removed after the occasion. It is not in good taste for those who brought no disguise to the gathering to visit these spots; the owner and wearer of the costume should remain unknown until the moment he removes it, in the feast house, to hand it over to the host. On the whole, the costumes are entirely profane, and adults and children of both sexes seize the wearers by the back to accompany them in their races. Spix's plate shows two little girls holding on to the principal masqueraders by the fringes of the costume. 292

Use of the costume is the privilege of no specific person, society, or any other organization. The host of the feast, on issuing the invitations, asks anyone he wishes to bring his outfit. Whoever would like to oblige prepares a costume and face mask, the choice of design being entirely up to him; its execution is largely left to his imagination provided he respects certain traditional characteristics.

The generic name of the outfit is na:-rə̈'iɻᵃ, a word which commonly means "tail" (of a mammal, reptile, or scorpion; na:-kɻra is the word used for the tail of a bird or fish), but actual tails are rarely used. Tessmann calls the mask costume "to'éro," a name (T., tɔɻ'-ëru) that designates only a certain type representing the demons of the clan tɔɻ' (*caiarára* monkey). I ascribe about 90 per cent of the costumes to men, 7 per cent to boys between eight and fifteen years old, and the remaining 3 per cent to girls and young women. Thus, the wearers of the two maize outfits shown in plate 17, *a* are a girl of ten and a woman of twenty.

A legend concerning the origin of costumes explains that they represent demons, ɲɔɔ' (Marcoy gives mhoho; Ribeiro de Sampaio, hó hó; Spix, itoho; Martius, iticho). 292 773 539

a) In a cavern in the mountains there lived many demons (ɲɔɔ') : ʼma (the tempest), maʼvɻ (the *araparyrana* tree), tɔɻ' (caiarára monkey), the female demon bëruʼ (butterfly), whom the Tukuna identify with the Yurupari of the lingua geral, and the chief of them all, ërrɻʼa. They wished to have a feast, and in order to obtain enough smoked meat they assaulted a Tukuna maloca one stormy night, killing all the inhabitants and dragging off the bodies to their cavern in order to eat them.

After some time the Indians of another maloca went to see their neighbors and, not finding anyone, followed the tracks of the corpses dragged off to the mountains. But as soon as they arrived near the cavern, the ɲɔɔ' leaped out to seize them; however, they managed to escape and returned to their maloca. [For continuation, see *c*.]

b) A number of Tukuna went off to visit their countrymen who lived in vaʼi-a, at the headwaters of the Rio Cotuhé, a tributary of the Içá. Halfway through the journey, they found a shelter in which to spend the night. While they were camped there, a woman of the group gave birth; because of this event they resolved to remain a few days until she was in condition to accompany them farther. They went out to hunt, but found nothing and had to sleep hungry. In the darkness of the night they heard a gnawing sound. They surrounded and killed the rodent, which was an enormous paca.

All except the parturient and her husband ate of the meat, and on the following day they went out to hunt again, leaving the woman and her little child alone in the shelter. Suddenly she saw a ɲɔɔ' in human shape approach, saying that the paca had been his son, whose death he came to

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292 773 539 avenge. At midnight the ñɔɔ′ would come, blowing a snailshell trumpet; those who had not eaten of the paca's flesh must climb a certain species of tree, peeling the bark behind them.

When the hunters returned, the woman recounted to her husband what had occurred, but he answered that this was nonsense; perhaps an old lover had visited her. She then tried to warn her sister-in-law, who replied that she was obviously in a good humor because she had given birth to a male child. Her brother paid her no attention, either. Then, before nightfall, she tried to find a tree of the species stipulated by the ñɔɔ′.

At midnight the ñɔɔ′ left their mountain cavern, blowing "tĭu-tĭu" on their horns and each one yelling to his own taste. The woman immediately tried to awaken her companions: they did not move, even when she spilled dripping resin from a torch on them. She bit her husband to arouse him, and finally he followed like a sleepwalker. The two climbed up with the infant into the tree selected, peeling the bark behind them. Soon they heard the cries of the rest, who were all massacred by the ñɔɔ′. At daybreak when the family returned to camp they found nothing of their companions except their hammocks. Then they returned to the maloca, where they told what had happened.

c) [Continuation of *a* and *b*] Conscious of disaster, the Tukuna, counseled by an old shaman, made a clearing exclusively for the planting of peppers. When the fruits were ripe, they gathered them and went to the cavern of the ñɔɔ′. There they closed the entrance with stakes of paxiuba barriguda, leaving only one opening, where they lighted a great fire. Into this they threw an enormous quantity of peppers, so that the fumes would penetrate the cavern.

Soon a great racket arose from the interior; the Tukuna yelled inside for those among the ñɔɔ′ who had not eaten human flesh to come out, and thus it happened: there appeared ɛ̃ɛ̃r]ʷɛ playing the turtleshell drum, which was his invention, preceded by a few other ñɔɔ′ playing their bamboo horns (kɔʷiri). These were allowed to depart in peace, and they quickly entered another cavern close by, for another part of the underworld. Afterward, two bëru′ [female butterfly demons] also approached the exit, lamenting and attempting to smother the fire with their enormously elongated breasts. Then they recalled their homes in the mountains, singing their names [see p. 13]. The female demon vaiči′navë also arrived, dripping wet as always, and fell upon the fire in order to put it out with the moisture from her body.

All the ñɔɔ′ who had eaten human flesh, and whose masks for this reason bear even today a red stripe of urucú in front, died. When the noise within the cavern had ceased, the Tukuna ordered one of their servants of the Yágua tribe to enter; he did not return because some of the ñɔɔ′ were still alive and killed him. They again smoked out the cavern, ordering another servant inside to verify the effect. This one walked around the cavern, observing well, and then came out to announce that all the ñɔɔ′ were dead. The Tukuna contemplated the bodies carefully, noting all the details, and later copied the ñɔɔ′ in their costumes.

292 287 The costumes are made from the *liber* [fibrous bark] of certain species of *Ficus* (l.g., tururí), whose name in Tukuna is not "aichama," as written by Ribeiro de Sampaio and others following his lead, but, according to their quality, pɛ̃y], nuʷɛ̃′vɛ̃, or na′iʷči. The first two species have a dark brown inner bark, but the third is white. A log some twenty centimeters in diameter and of the desired length is cut, and the inner and outer bark are removed by beating with a small, flattened muirapiranga club that has no cutting edge. The bark is peeled off from the wood by being turned inside out, like a glove, ending up in the shape of a tube. Care is taken during this task lest the sun strike the section, which would make the inner bark brittle; for this reason some palm fronds are made into a shelter over the place of work. Also, the presence of children is not permitted, since this would [821] result in prolonged rains. The inner bark, which separates easily from the outer bark, is washed and stretched out to dry. Most of the time the tube is opened so as to form a rectangular piece, which is more easily worked, but a garment may also be made from the whole tube itself.

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On the third day of the feast, sometimes even on the second, but always after the vorĕk[']'s hair is plucked, the masqueraders, after receiving a fee in the form of smoked meat, remove their costumes in the center of the house and leave them in a heap to be turned over to the host. 881

A few more comments may be made on the three illustrations of the masked race of the Tukuna in the literature with which I am familiar, the accounts of Spix, Marcoy, and Bates. Spix's artist, when he recomposed the scene, evidently no longer had the masks which Spix had collected or, if he did have them, they were incomplete, so that all or most of them were reconstructed from memory. Only in this way may be explained the following details: the strange cloth tangas worn by some Indians of both sexes; the nudity of nine of the thirteen masqueraders, who are shown wearing only headdresses, which never happens; the lack of fringes on the costumes (which probably had already been removed when Spix acquired the costumes);[14] the uncovered face of one of the masqueraders, which is contrary to all the elementary rules; the child carried in the arms instead of in a sling; and the turtleshell drum being beaten from the wrong side. Finally, the solemn pace of the persons in the illustration disagrees with the text, which states that they danced and leaped about like goats. Equally in disagreement with the text are the age of the child as portrayed and the color of the woman playing the drum. 881 114

Even less accurate, however, is the representation of the masquerade in Marcoy's work; it suggests that the author never attended such a ceremony and never had at hand the costumes, which he probably never succeeded in seeing. The best of the three accounts is that of Bates, who, however, conveys the erroneous impression that the ceremony he saw was a wedding.

Songs of the masquerades.—It appears that anciently each type of masked dancer owned its own songs, which the performers sang when they presented themselves. But nowadays very few know how to recite them, and many chants are already forgotten, just as are many stories referring to the origin of certain costumes. The following three songs are literal translations from Tukuna texts. 533 539 881

Song of the Two Saguins

The feast was ending. In the hut she was making a sieve. She caressed the marmoset [*saguim*] and said to him: "dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!" He then left. On the way he met his brother-in-law. "Let us enter [the feast house]!" he sang. He repeated what his mistress had said to him. "My mistress, dyĕkʉ'ĕina, said to me: 'dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!'" They gave her smoked meat from the feast. His brother-in-law dʾkara-ĕin[ ] [long ears] answered. He sang: "Go ahead! Put it [the smoked meat] on top of my ear; thou shalt see how tiny my hand is!" 539

Song of the Maize Masquerade

O mortal! If thou hadst not been well guarded already, I should not have been taken away for thee from the underworld ãĕĕa'ku. In ancient times aria'na, by being immortal, took me from the underworld ãĕĕa'ku! (See pp. 112 f.)

Song of the Rotten-Log Masquerade

Penica-pau![15] yuta'-yuta', slowly or thou wilt splinter ʾʾranĕnĕʾ [name of the rotten log], the customary place of the yellow macaws, the jutting end [of the log]!

[14] These fringes are removed after the presentation of the masks. See p. 99.

[15] A southern Brazilian variant of *pica-pau*, "woodpecker."

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881 The cipós securing the laths of burity palm frond are cut, and the laths are pushed to the two sides like curtains, so that the vorëkj and her retinue may pass through. Very slowly, always advancing and retreating, the group approach the aperture, [illegible] further in leaving, moving forward and falling back, and finally arrive at the central place in the house where they continue their seesaw dance, changing places slowly at the front. It is believed that in this hour the girl is exposed to the greatest danger, hence her relatives hold her by the arms with the greatest care, supporting her in front and back and holding the feather crown firmly over her eyes.

881 114 The way Bates explains the care taken of the vorëkj by the female relatives is amusing. Convinced that he was witnessing a marriage, he writes: "During this whole time" the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the elder squaws, whose business seemed to be seduously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boozing." And in the plate we see the "bride" between two women, while a little farther away is the "bridegroom," making sheep's eyes.

881 During this dance with the vorëkj it was customary to sing certain verses no longer generally known today. A literal translation from the original Tukuna text follows.

[539] 1. Oh, what is it now that our vorëkj has come among us, all covered with plumage?
2. Oh, what dost thou say now of her toucan feathers?
3. Like a caterpillar [in chrysalis] our vorëkj was placed in seclusion by us!
4. [Challenging the guests' slight animation]: Art not thou absolutely ashamed to chatter like agoutis?
5. I shall not become a disagreeable anthill!

After five o'clock the group with the vorëkj slowly commences to go forth into the yard in their backward-forward dance, continuing to dance there and passing several times around the house until sunset, when the group halts, the feather crown is raised from the vorëkj's eyes, and her arms are released. A shaman lays a firebrand before her. With rapid movements of his fingers he removes some [789] invisible object from his own head and, with a gesture of rolling it in front of his body, lays it on the firebrand. Then, handing this to the vorëkj and pointing out to her a pupunheira tree—or, if there is none, any other tree—he tells her: "Throw it at our enemy!" She throws the firebrand against the tree, saying: "tńń! ča-rį-ʊ'anį[a] na ma dɔɔ[a]'ëë!" (?; ča-rį ʊ'anį[a], my enemy; dɔɔ[a]'ëë, "not to bear, support"). From this moment on she can again move about freely without her relatives' protection; she then usually places herself behind one of the mummers to race with him, and so she continues to dance among the others until the hour of depilation arrives, before or shortly after midday.

881 302 *The depilation.*—Interrupting the dance, the paternal uncle pulls out a lock of hair from the vorëkj, then she is led to the center of the house, where she is seated on a tapir hide—nowadays this is almost always superseded by a tururí cloth. A jar full of paiauarú and a smaller pot containing a brew of this drink are placed before her. The uncle and another person with a rattle stick remain beside these jugs. Three to six women sit in a circle round the vorëkj, on the hide, and immedi-

[a] Three or four days!

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would ensure a grand catch of fish. The following legend, "The Son of Timbó," concerns this ancient ceremony.

The relatives of the vərẽkɨ took her with them into the jungle in order to pull timbó for her bath. While so occupied they left her sitting on a nodular outgrowth of a timbó root, where she remained waiting the entire time while the relatives were busy in the timbó stand. Without having had any sexual relations whatsoever she became pregnant by the spirit of the timbó and gave birth to a son. When, after six months, she carried the child for the first time to take a bath in the igarapé, she noticed that as soon as she dipped the little boy into the water, the fish died in great numbers around him. When, in the second bath, this phenomenon was repeated, she realized that the boy was the cause and that he was the son of timbó. From then on she no longer bathed him in the igarapé, for fear that all the fish might die, but bathed him on land. When the boy grew older, his relatives used him to kill fish, allowing him to swim a little in the igarapé.

Koch-Grünberg collected an Arekuna legend of a boy who produced the same effects."[1]

A couple of hours [boat trip] above the settlement of Santa Rita an igarapé debouches from the left bank of the Solimões; the old maps give it the name of Quiriá, but today it is called Igarapé da Rita. This name, which it bore even before the founding of Santa Rita in 1870, gave rise to the following story.

In this igarapé there was a Tukuna girl called Rita in Portuguese. One da[illegible]er puberty ceremony, her relatives prepared a solution of timbó in a large basin m[illegible] a paxiuba spatulate. Taking the girl, they all went for a turn about the igarapé, where the present homes of Nino and Sebastião are now, and where there is a very deep sink (poço), which never dries up. They seated Rita on a horizontal fallen log in the igarapé and washed her with timbó. The fish began to die, and the current carried them off downstream. Everyone followed the prize, leaving Rita seated alone on her log. When they returned she had disappeared, and not the slightest trace of her was ever seen again; hence they were convinced that some immortal had carried her off.

Supplementary ceremony.—After six or eight months, when the vərẽkɨ's hair has grown again, a supplementary ceremony is celebrated, like the one after the first depilation (see p. 90), and like it called dyɔ-pa'kẽẽ (to cut the hair across the forehead). The owner of the house, when he wishes to celebrate it, says: "ẽs'i nɛ'i ẽ' ča gu'u" ("I shall burn the fleas"), since they believe that, unless this is done, fleas will increase in a disagreeable way. For this feast drinks are also prepared, but a smaller group of guests is invited and no costumes are requested. Uaricánas and seclusion are also lacking.

On this occasion the leftovers from the previous celebration are burned in the center of the house—the masks and fringes but not the tururí cloth of the costumes, which they utilize as mats. The coals of the fire are passed round the heels of those present to prevent them from being attacked by fleas.

Subsequent menstruation.—There are few restrictions for this. Only if the flow is very strong does the menstruating girl retire for a while. The spirits of certain trees such as the kapok—*sumaúma* (vəči'ne), which the Tukuna identify with the *curupira* of the Neobrazilians—have the tendency to wound menstruating women with "arrows," even by day; this is why women do not like to stray far from the house yard while menstruating. Contact with menstrual blood makes a man inefficient (l.g., *panéma;* T., ũẽẽ[a]) in hunting and fishing, and even in other activities. A pepper bath is the most efficacious antidote.

[1] Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco, 2:70.

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IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Shaman

According to Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [?] a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man' who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post. Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term for shamans is dyu'vịta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

When auë'mana was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auë'mana wept alone in the yard the whole night until a *cunaüaré* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.

auë'mana grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auë'mana extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.

When this became widely known, the people slew auë'mana, cutting her neck with a stone knife. She caught the blood that ran down, in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said: "ʊ:u ta'ta pë gị na ãs'i pë ãʊ a'ëë!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a victim enters the body of the killer.

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tessmann refers.[4] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[5] is "dyo'wue'" and for the sorcerer "nokewue," a name which I have never heard and cannot explain. Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyʊvịkị, but kị means only "person," and in general the term dyu'vịta is employed for both kinds of shaman. The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

Source of power.—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with tree spirits (nai[6] arị ma:'ṅ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls (naa'ë), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa*; T., ë'pivë.
[4] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[5] The word used is *curados*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[6] T., dyu'vịta; see above.—Trans.

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The Upper World

Heaven, the upper world (na:'nẽ), is not the abode of the sun, the moon, or the stars, which are still far beyond it. It is divided into two or perhaps three sections. One is inhabited by men more or less like us, even though the conditions of life there are somewhat different from those on earth. The second is the dwelling place of ta-ʉ' and the souls of the dead (naa'ʉ̃), with certain exceptions. The third may be the habitation of the king vultures, urubú rei (*Vultur papa*), if these are not perchance merely inhabitants of the first section who are able to transform themselves into birds. Like the souls of the dead, they never return to earth to tell the living about conditions above. It is manifestly impossible for a living person to enter heaven; not even a shaman can do so while dreaming. Hence, knowledge of things there is confined to the experiences of the few human beings who, carried up by celestial girls wishing to marry them, later returned. There is also the story of a sorrowing widower who was borne thither by his wife's soul but who never returned to earth.

Legends of the upper world.—The following legends of the upper world were collected.

The Widower

The wife of an Indian had died. He wept bitterly and could not forget her. Once when he went alone into the jungle to procure his sustenance, he got tired and sat down to rest, remembering how she used to accompany him on the hunt and carry home the monkeys he killed. Then he said, weeping: "A woman like that one I shall never find again!" Thus he was once walking with bowed head, thinking of her. When he raised his eyes, he saw that she had come to meet him. She said she had come to fetch him since he wept so much for her. He was overjoyed to hear this. She bade him shut his eyes and, when she permitted him to open them again, they were already in heaven.

He espied from afar the house of ta-ʉ', which is all of glass. On the road leading to the house there sat a dove (auyakva') which, upon seeing a soul arrive, began to sing: "Tẽũ akũ yada'ʉ̃?" ["Whose son is this who comes this way?"] Then ta-ʉ' ordered all the souls to congregate so that relatives might recognize the newcomer. Everyone wept, and they carried him off with them.

Before one arrives at the point where the dove waits for souls there is a kind of gate (ta/ri'ta) formed of two horizontal poles, thick as a pestle, which move constantly one past the other in opposite directions, one to the left, the other to the right. The arriving soul addresses the ta/ri'ta: "ɔta' ʌ́ci ɛ̃ɔ!" ["Grandfather, open your mouth!"] If the soul has many sins, the gate vibrates with such speed that passage is impossible; otherwise it stops for an instant, thus permitting free entry. This gate is of *parapará* wood [*Cordia umbraculifera*?; ʉ'nĩ'], for which reason the Tukuna never use this wood for kindling.

As the man entered ta-ʉ̃'s house, he saw outside two animals, the ɛ̃ɔrʉ̃'ruma, tethered in a corral. ta-ʉ̃' made one of them come and lick the man from his heels to the top of his head in order to purify him of his sins. These animals have the body of a tapir and the head of a dolphin. ta-ʉ̃' looses them to tear apart the soul of a sinner who manages to slip through the gate. As soon as they sight a soul they throw themselves into the waters of the Rio ɛ̃ovat[, which flows through the upper world, swim to the opposite bank, dive in again with a tremendous roar, and return. One hears this roaring on earth; if at the same time a strong thunderclap is heard, then the ɛ̃ɔrʉ̃'ruma are tearing some soul to bits.

Now in the house of ta-ʉ̃' there is suspended a large hornets' nest, ma/ʌ̃i' [see p. 62], that was not formerly there. When the assembled souls weep upon receiving a recently arrived soul, ta-ʉ̃' shakes the nest so that the hornets within raise a buzzing which smothers the outcry, since if this were heard on earth it would cause sickness and wreak havoc there. These are the hornets that sting a person who, even involuntarily, glances at the private parts of a relative of the opposite sex.

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ɔ'rẽtana

539 772 ɔ'rẽtana dwelt in heaven in the company of her parents and siblings. She said to her sisters: "I know of a handsome youth on earth. Let us bring him up to heaven for us!" "Then he shall be mine!" immediately cried the youngest, but ɔ'rẽtana replied: "We shall see which of us he will choose."

This youth was the only son of an old woman, and he was still very young (about eighteen years old). "Mother," he said to the old woman, "let us clean up our clearing!" "Yes," she replied, "let us do so!" While they were working in the clearing she asked: "What have we to eat?" The son, who heard the cries of pigeons in the distance, answered: "I'll go to kill those pigeons for us!"

He took his blowgun and quiver, following the direction of the cries, which suddenly stopped. Advancing cautiously and without a sound, for a few more paces, he saw ɔ'rẽtana and her sisters seated on a long bench in a jungle clearing. They called him to join them and asked him what he was looking for. Full of shame, he answered that he had followed the cries of the pigeons in order to shoot them for his mother. They played with him and painted him with urucú around the eyes and on the legs like a pigeon. They laid his blowgun across two branches, and it immediately turned into a snake, while the quiver became a hornets' nest.

Then they asked him which of them he desired, and he chose ɔ'rẽtana. She laid the lad's head in her lap, pressing her body against his so that he could no longer observe anything. Immediately the four seated persons rose to heaven, stopping in front of the house of the girls' father. ɔ'rẽtana still held his eyes shut so that the great brightness would not frighten him, and thus led him inside. When finally they permitted him to look around, and he saw the inhabitants of heaven, he thought to himself: "These people from above are really very handsome!" But they immediately divined what he was thinking and answered: "Have we not the faces of grasshoppers?" ɔ'rẽtana's father and siblings, however, were greatly pleased with the newcomer. On the following day ɔ'rẽtana showed him the upper world, but at first would not permit him to glance about, making him walk with bowed head, and only little by little did she allow him to raise his eyes.

Then he saw the Rio čɔ'vatị, large but placid, which flows through the upper world, and, beyond, the great multitude of souls who dwell there, separated from the sky people and having no relations with them at all. On the other side was the house of ta-ʉ̃', with many flowers in front. Before the house lay the tethered čɔrʉ̃'ruma, domestic animals of ta-ʉ̃', about the size of a mosquito bar [about 5 × 1 m., or 5 × 1.5 m.], which resemble no animals on earth. When ta-ʉ̃' releases them for a swim, they plunge into the waters of the river, which spring apart only to rush together again with a thud. When earth men hear this noise, sometimes it is a sign that the end of the world is imminent; sometimes it is just a mistake.

ɔ'rẽtana's father ordered his daughters to prepare manioc beer (caiçuma). In heaven, sweet manioc (macaxeira) grows like fruit on the branches of bushes. The youth, seeing the girls gathering only two of these fruits about a palm in length, thought that this would not suffice for anything, but ɔ'rẽtana, divining his thoughts, answered that he would soon see whether or not it was enough. They peeled and chopped the sweet manioc into pieces, forming two large heaps. Then they cooked them, but under the pot they placed only one coal. Also, they did not grind the fruit but chewed it. The beverage filled five jars, each the height of a man, and they had a grand spree, for the inhabitants of heaven are many.

Afterward ɔ'rẽtana told her husband that she heard the weeping of his mother on earth. The lad listened, but heard nothing. She washed his ears and cleaned them with cotton, then he heard the weeping. ɔ'rẽtana's father advised them to go visit the old woman and console her. The two sat inside a hod, she closed his eyes, and so they descended to earth and directly to the little rancho in the clearing, where his mother sat weeping. He went up to her, saying: "You needn't cry for me, mother! I am alive, and only just now have I had time to visit you!" ɔ'rẽtana also came and presented herself to the old woman. Then the youth went to fetch his blowgun and quiver, finding them still at the same place, and went hunting. He killed a tapir for his mother and left the prize at her door, telling the old woman that he had killed only a small agouti. When his mother found the tapir she was overjoyed.

The couple again returned to the upper world, and ɔ'rẽtana had a son. Then ɔ'rẽtana expressed the opinion that the old woman should also come to heaven. Accordingly, the three again descended

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to earth, where the old woman greeted her little grandson, and for her part showed a desire of moving to heaven. With the same precautions as had been taken for the youth, she was transported to heaven and introduced to the household. The father of ʊ'rütana ordered a gourd of water brought from ta-ĩ''s house, and after he had washed the old woman with it, she became a young girl again. They are still there today in heaven.

539 [172]

aria'na

There was a little girl who had been an orphan since her infancy. The uncle and his wife with whom she lived did not like her. She walked alone along a jungle path and wept. ta-ĩ' came to her, but the little one did not recognize her. "Why do you cry?" asked ta-ĩ'. "Mother," answered the little girl, "my uncle does not like me and treats me very badly!" "Come to my arms!" said ta-ĩ'. She embraced the little one, and without the child's noticing anything they ascended to heaven. She washed the little girl, gave her the name of aria'na, and reared her.

aria'na became a very pretty young woman. Many men of the celestial people desired her, and she had love affairs with many of them; but because of this she also had many enemies, some of whom invited her one day for a stroll. They went with her to where the upper world ends, where they suddenly transformed themselves into toads (kurĩ'vɛ), hopped in all directions, and disappeared, leaving aria'na alone.

aria'na took the shape of a swallow and flew up to the Sun. Flying just above him, she plucked out a lock of red hair and one of blue hair. With these aria'na attempted to decorate her armbands, which would make her even prettier and irresistible. The Sun, however, exasperated at her audacity, fetched her such a kick that she went flying through heaven and earth, finally stopping in the underworld called ãĩẽa'ku. When she returned from there, she brought maize for the inhabitants of the earth.

[173]

pova'ru

Some Indians went to a celebration in a house on dry land. Near the house they stopped to make still more fringes for their costumes. pova'ru was with them. The others prepared their outfits and went on, leaving pova'ru behind, alone. When he also was at last ready and went to follow his comrades, two japihins [*Cassicus* sp.] came flying behind him on the path, passing him by and playing in flight. Just ahead of him they came to rest on the path and took human form. They were aria'na and a companion.

The two girls went up to pova'ru and asked where he was going. When he answered that he was going to a feast, they persuaded him to stay with them instead of continuing. He agreed and deposited the costume fringes at the side of the trail. His companions later found them there upon returning from the celebration and, though there was not the slightest confirming trace, at length concluded that a jaguar must have carried off the youth.

aria'na made him shut his eyes, and when he opened them again they were already in the upper world, where aria'na married him. However, she did not permit him to eat celestial food, because if he ate it he could never again return to earth. She stole food from the earth to feed him, and people were amazed at the way their provisions disappeared. From time to time, pova'ru returned to earth, where he told people that he was married to aria'na in heaven, but no one believed him; they merely laughed, saying that he wished to impress the girls with these yarns. He always arranged with aria'na the time and place for them to meet again on earth, whereupon she would again carry him to heaven with her.

When pova'ru arrived in heaven the first time, ta-ĩ' strung the ɛorĩ'ruma on a cipó as if they were fish [thrusting the liana through the gill apertures so as to make it protrude from the mouth], so that they would not attack. Once, when pova'ru was alone, he watched one of these monsters for a long while; its body shuddered convulsively from time to time, and because he had watched this, pova'ru fell ill. aria'na carried him to earth so that he might be treated there by a shaman. When the shaman fell backward in a trance, the ɛorĩ'ruma sang from his mouth. Then everyone believed that pova'ru really had been in the upper world.

When he was again up and around, some white-lipped peccaries (*queixadas*), appeared one day near the house. pova'ru seized his blowgun and ran after them, but did not kill a single one. He accompanied them and remained living among them for a long time. Finally, the pigs again

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539 appeared near the house, and the hunters who pursued them caught sight of pəva'ru amongst them. They surrounded and captured him, much against his will, and carried him home. He said that, every day at sunset, the pigs formed a circle about their chief. The chief masticated a fruit called ðe'vü, whereupon a round, well-constructed house appeared in which the pigs passed the night.

aria'na returned and again carried pəva'ru off to heaven. He got accustomed to living there, but returned to earth as often as he wished, since aria'na had by now furnished him with feathers. However, in the upper world there are many girls, and pəva'ru began to dally with them. This annoyed aria'na, who forced him to return to earth again. pəva'ru, however, had by now obtained some of the celestial magical substances, and as a result the earth maidens also pursued him.

pəva'ru had relations with many girls and poked fun at aria'na before them, saying: "This aria'na, when she doesn't wish coitus, she makes her genitals vanish!" When aria'na received word of this she became furious and, soiling his feathers with resin, made it impossible for him to fly, so that he could never again return to heaven.

[825] Somewhere in heaven live the king vultures. They are human in form, disguising themselves as birds only when they descend to earth.

The King Vultures

A girl one night placed in the house yard a water-filled earthen vessel for her brother to bathe in the next day, but the following morning she found the container empty except for some small manioc flat cakes. The next night she again placed the vessel with water in the same place, and the following morning discovered a piece of smoked meat in place of the water.

So the following night she placed the vessel at the edge of the igarapé and waited to see what would happen. At dawn a king vulture alighted in the house yard, glanced about, and said loudly enough for the girl to hear: "Today I have no bath water!" But going down to the igarapé he found the earthen vessel there. He removed his feather dress, lay down backward a moment, and, now in human form, bathed himself. While he was pouring water over himself, the girl, who had come behind him, removed the feather dress, hiding it in the house. Finished with his bath, the king vulture looked about everywhere for his costume, finally fleeing without it to hide in the jungle.

His daughter, waiting in heaven for his return, finally went down after him. Soon the costume in the house began to speak, telling the girl that the king vulture's daughter had arrived. Upon hearing this, the girl arranged with her brother that he should steal the daughter's cloak also. The daughter descended the aerial path of her father, circled above the yard of the house, and finally landed. Seeking and finding her father's trail, she followed it to the igarapé, where, feeling the urge to bathe, she removed her feathers. But while she was pouring water over herself, the girl's brother stole her cloak. Searching for it, she thought: "This must have happened to my father, also!" Then she again followed her father's trail and found him hidden in the jungle. "So, here you are," she said, "and where is your feather dress?" "They stole it," replied the king vulture. "And where is yours?" "They stole mine, too." "Then we must remain seated in the jungle for five days until our new feathers grow!" declared the king vulture.

Slowly the feathers began to grow. Meanwhile, the brother and sister tried to put on the stolen feathers in order to fly. The vulture and his daughter managed to fly again and, circling above the two mortals, decided to carry them to the upper world with them. The stolen garments cried out: "We are here, father!"

Hearing this, the siblings thought to hide the feathers outside the house and ran with them into the plantation. The king vulture, in human form, ran after them and asked them what they were doing. They did not recognize him, replying that they were attempting to put on the feather costumes. Then the king vulture showed them how to do so, first pressing their limbs together so that they could get into the costume, and later releasing them. Then the siblings managed to put on the costumes, but, once dressed, they could not take them off again. Thereupon the king vulture and his daughter put on their costumes of new feathers also, and took the two with them to heaven, where the king vulture married the girl and his daughter married the boy.[29]

[29] See also the legend, "Ižɔ̈ in the Underworld."

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673 art ruining the people!" says ta-ë' to the soul of an obstinate sinner. Furthermore, when I once spoke of the social consequences which incest brings to an incestuous son, a Tukuna cut short my words with: "It's not only that; he disgraces the people."

776 177 *The Christian* ta-ë'.—Up to this point the concept of ta-ë' and her activities, as well as the concepts of soul, sin, and punishment, do not appear to me to have been influenced by Christianity. It is easily understood however, that within this cycle of religious ideas concerning the souls of the dead and an upper world, there have been introduced Christian elements in the form of entire legends. This is due, not to contact with a Christian population, but to incomplete instruction received long ago through missionaries.[11] There is another ta-ë', a caricature of the Virgin Mary appearing in conjunction with "Our Father," ta-na'tị, who unites within himself elements of God the Father and especially of Jesus Christ. There are also the dyure'u [*judeu*, Jew], a combination of the Jews, the story of the Passion of Christ, and the devil. It is amazing how many episodes of the evangelists have contributed to this grotesque conglomeration represented in the following legend of ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u:

ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u

539 776 177 ta-na'tị coveted ta-ë' while she was yet a girl, but she rejected him. Then he transformed himself into a flower by the wayside. ta-ë' plucked the flower, smelled it, and merely because of this became pregnant. She was quite astonished, because she had had sexual relations with no one; at last, however, she realized that ta-na'tị had impregnated her. When after five [*sic*] months she gave birth to a boy, ta-na'tị addressed her from afar: "Do you see? You did not wish me but you shall always have my son!"[12]

ta-na'tị was the wisest of all men. With his magic arts he used to kill the dyure'u (demons with tails like barrigudo monkeys), a more ancient race than men. They resolved to kill ta-na'tị. They tied him to a stake, put out his eyes, and left him exposed to the sun. "We want to see if he is really tupa'na!" [i.g., for "god," or "saint"] they said. tana'tị recovered from this. They crucified him with nails and pierced him with arrows, but he again recovered. Then they strangled him with a rope passed round both his neck and the stake to which he was bound, and this time he died.

They laid the body of ta-na'tị in a coffin, and afterward killed his chickens and sheep. But while they were seated at the table, the roast chicken suddenly sprang up and cried: "ta-na'tị ãiĩ'u'!" ["ta-na'tị is alive!], whereupon the pieces of the butchered sheep joined one another and bleated: "bẽ:! It's a lie!" When the dyure'u went to look, the coffin with ta-na'tị's body was already at a hand's height from the ground and was rising rapidly.

The dyure'u tried to pull it down by a rope passed round it, but the coffin rose without stopping, carrying the dyure'u hanging from the rope. Because of this they are also in heaven. Since then, nothing has been heard of ta-na'tị; today he still lives in heaven, but far away from all the others. The road to ta-ë''s house is partly overgrown by the jungle; the other path, however, which leads to the habitation of the dyure'u is a broad, fine road of sand. The dyure'u duck the arriving souls into a pot of boiling pitch, so that only their fingertips peep out. Afterward they remove them and weigh them, repeating this until the soul has become light enough to appear before ta-ë'. She, however, still scolds the soul before admitting it.

773 776 177 The Tukuna commonly give the title of ta-na'tị ("Our Father") to the twin culture heroes, a title justified by the fact that these are the creators of humanity, or at least the greater part of it, especially of the Tukuna. According to Tessmann, tana'te means "god": "Er hat die Welt gemacht, die Tiere und Berge, Sonne,

[11] Spaniards? See use of the *garrote* in the following legend.
[12] I could learn nothing more of this son.

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Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion.

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[10] is so adorned.

The souls.—The naa'ẽ or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'kị, "what we think" (or thought)." This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ə̃' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven.

The shades of the dead.—Quite different from the role of the naa'ẽ is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[11] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

duə̃' and the načii'

An Indian named duə̃' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curanã [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. duə̃' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [Lg. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where duə̃' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then duə̃' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[10] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[11] The word means "judgment"; ku ãẽ n'ẽ, "thou hast no judgment."
[12] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

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the house for all the lumps of clay and piled them on top of each other in front of the loft, so that they could mount the pile, but when it was almost high enough, dʊ̈ʼ knocked it down with his blowgun. "A snake! a snake!" shrieked the načiiʼ, scattering, full of fear. Then they tried to make a new pile, but dʊ̈ʼ knocked it down again with his blowgun. Thus they tried all night. When day was dawning, dʊ̈ʼ took his blowgun and quiver and started to climb down from the loft. The shades, taking the blowgun for a snake and the quiver for a hornets' nest [cf. p. 111] fled, terrified, in the form of newts, opossums, and toads.

dʊ̈ʼ at the Feast of the načiiʼ

The same dʊ̈ʼ decided one day to go to a long-uninhabited tapera, to gather sard fruits. His wife wished to accompany him, but he would not let her, for he knew that there were shades of the dead at that very place. Gathering the fruits, he delayed more than he intended, and, as the sun was already low, he resolved to pass the night at the tapera. Quickly he made a shelter with the leaves of the numerous bacabeiras growing around the place, since a heavy rain was approaching. When this had passed and darkness had set in, he heard a noise of many people approaching. They were the shades of the dead coming to the site where the house once stood, and suddenly dʊ̈ʼ realized that he was there once again in the house as he had been in former days.

Soon the shades of the dead began their celebration. The musical instruments sounded. dʊ̈ʼ was pleased with the antics and decided to participate. He had eaten *cupú* [a wild chocolate, *Theobroma sp.*]; now he took the seeds which remained in the membranous and viscous hulls, gluing the hulls to his body and penis, and in this disguise began to dance in the midst of the načiiʼ. Seeing him, they cried: "It is a man! He shakes his penis [with the movements of the dance]!" But because of the hulls they dared not touch him. Finally, however, they decided to "paint him with genipapo," but dʊ̈ʼ escaped them, taking refuge in the burrow of a giant armadillo [*tatú canastra; Chelonisicus gigas*].

One of the načiiʼ wished to dig him out, but when he had almost reached dʊ̈ʼ, the Indian rattled his quiver. His pursuer, thinking that the noise was that of a hornets' nest, fled. Another načiiʼ tried to finish digging him out, but dʊ̈ʼ, with the same trick, made him scamper away, as he did all the rest, too, who dared try it. Suddenly, at dawn the house again vanished, and the shades, transformed into little animals, dispersed in all directions.

The Old Woman and the načiiʼ

An old woman whose son had died went with her four daughters to an abandoned house site in order to fish with timbó in the igarapé near by. They placed their catch on a smoking grill; at dusk they slung their hammocks among some near-by bacabeira trees and fell asleep. Awakening after some time, they discovered with dread that their hammocks were hanging in a large ceremonial house where there were many people dancing. At first the old woman was embarrassed and remained seated with her daughters; finally, however, she took from the grill a package of leaves containing small fry and offered it to one of those present. He, however, answered: "Give it to that one!" She went with the gift to the person indicated, but he sent her to a third, who gave her the same answer. Then the old woman replaced the package on the grill, again sitting down next to her daughters, since she recognized that she was dealing with the shades of the dead.

Meanwhile, a načiiʼ in a corner spoke to the shade of her son, who was also there: "It looks as if that is your mother!" The son went over, recognized her, and they conversed. She offered him the smoked fish, but he explained: "We načiiʼ no longer eat that kind of food!" Then he advised his mother that it would be better if she left; if not, the shades might want to "paint her with genipapo." The old woman, however, objected, saying that she could not walk in the dark. The son then brought her a resin torch, but when the old woman reached out to take it, it moved: it was a snake, for snakes are the torches of the načiiʼ. The old woman shrieked in fear and let fall the torch, whereupon all the shades gathered around, laughing at her. The son remained at her side until, at daybreak, the feast house disappeared and the načiiʼ ran away, transformed into small animals.

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čuta'nena and the načiĭ'

čuta'nena lived with her husband about a day's journey from her parents' house. She had two sons, of whom the younger was gravely ill. Because of this she decided to take him to her father so that he could cure the child. Since her husband did not wish to accompany her or permit her to leave the older boy with him, čuta'nena set off with both children. It was already very late when she arrived at her father's house, which she found abandoned, for the Omágua had slain all the inhabitants five days before.

Willy-nilly, čuta'nena with her two sons had to spend the night in the deserted house. When it had grown dark, she heard the inhabitants arriving. Her father came at the head of the file. They all looked exactly like living people. The father greeted his daughter, who asked him to cure his little grandson. Suddenly she noticed that the last persons to arrive were bringing a large quantity of bamboo leaves, which are the fish of the načiĭ'. She asked her mother what they were going to do with all these leaves, and received the answer: "Well, aren't they fish?"

At the same time she heard the quirica, with which a woman was crushing sweet manioc, singing in a human voice: "čuta'nena čanĵ" nya-a nya-a!" [referring to čuta'nena's privates], which made her uneasy. Meanwhile her father ordered her to fetch him tobacco, of which he thrust a wad in each cheek. Then he uttered his magic formula and began to suck at the sick child. He sucked its ribs and completely emptied its skin. Suddenly he fell backward and, with trembling knees, sang in a guttural voice: "I died a long time ago!" [See p. 104.]

The son was already dead. Then čuta'nena wondered how she might escape. She told her father that the older boy had diarrhoea and that it was necessary to take him into the bush, whereupon the old man replied: "Go, my daughter!" She took a lighted torch, which she placed on end in the jungle at a spot visible to the shades, and in spite of the darkness went with the boy toward her own house. As soon as she arrived, she told her husband of her adventure. He then called his friends, and all went together to bury the child's body. They found it completely black with the "genipapo" of the načiĭ'. After burying it they returned home.

The Underworld

The most ancient beings of the world are the demons, ñoo'. This is also the most insulting name used among the Tukuna. Some demons belong to one of numerous clans, others are merely isolated individuals. They are not immortal, though many have powers making them superior, or at least dangerous, to men. Their appearance, as represented in certain masks, is almost always strange and terrible. Sometimes they are represented in human form; their nature, however, revealed involuntarily, is completely different from that of human beings.

Some of these demons dwell right here on earth; others, like the dyure'u, in heaven. But the great majority live in subterranean lands (na:'pĵ), to which they have access by caverns. The subaquatic regions are part of this underworld, which comprises various lands with different conditions and separate entrances. The demons are not their sole inhabitants; other residents are human, although with strange defects: blind men, dwarfs, people without an anus. Information on the subject is given in the following legend of čoĕ'.

čoĕ' in the Underworld

The Tukuna čoĕ' was hunting in the jungle, in order to accumulate the necessary game for a feast he was going to celebrate. He made a little hut, with a platform on which he deposited the smoked game, covering it with leaves, then he again went into the jungle.

Meanwhile, in spite of his efforts, the pile of smoked meat never grew larger, and it even diminished. He lay in wait, and at midnight he saw the foreleg of a jaguar that was stealing the meat. čoĕ' told his companions what he had seen, and added: "Tomorrow I'm going to cut off

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that jaguar's fleshy!" He again lay in wait, and when the foreleg appeared he cut it off. He smoked the trophy, together with the meat, to the house, where he showed it to the assembled people, who passed it from hand to hand. Among those present was a king vulture, who himself, in the guise of a jaguar, had stolen the meat. When ɛ̌ɔ̌ passed the severed foreleg to him also, he cried: "This arm is mine!" and immediately replaced the severed member in its proper position. Then he rapidly tore out ɛ̌ɔ̌'s eyes, flying with them to his dwelling in heaven, where he wrapped them in a leaf and with a cipó suspended them from the ridgepole of the house.

A little grasshopper came to blind ɛ̌ɔ̌ to ask for smoked meat. ɛ̌ɔ̌ promised to give him what he wished if the grasshopper would throw down his eyes, which were in heaven. The grasshopper flew to heaven. He gnawed until his jaws bled, but he could not sever the liana with which the package of leaves was tied, and so he received no smoked meat.

Then, a termite, of the species which constructs its covered galleries on wooden surfaces, came with the same request, which ɛ̌ɔ̌ promised to grant if the termite could bring back his eyes. Termite called his companions; they had built their gallery quite close to the package before the king vulture discovered and destroyed their work. The last arrival was the termite that cuts his galleries inside wood; he asked for meat and was promised it in exchange for ɛ̌ɔ̌'s eyes. With his companions he opened a path inside the post and framework of the house, reached the package, and cut the liana. Allowing it to fall, he shouted: "There go your eyes!" The king vulture, who was burning his clearing, heard the shout and immediately ran over, but ɛ̌ɔ̌ had already caught the package and, taking out his eyes, popped them back into place.

ɛ̌ɔ̌ fled, pursued by the king vulture, and came to where there was an old woman who was a hummel (wuhé gavéa). "Take my old canoe and flee before King Vulture comes!" she counseled him. ɛ̌ɔ̌ seated himself in the canoe and pushed off with such force that he broke through the earth and came to stop in the underworld ãčĩa'ku.

The first people he met there were the Blind Ones. Their eyes were permanently closed, but they had a great quantity of provisions, of which ɛ̌ɔ̌ appropriated a little to eat. Right away, however, the Blind Ones discovered the theft. "This is ɛ̌ɔ̌ who is robbing us!" they cried. With arms linked, they formed a line and advanced against him, beating at random with cudgels. But he evaded them and escaped.

Then ɛ̌ɔ̌ came upon the pygmy people, whose adults are only of the height of our six-year-old children; this is why ɛ̌ɔ̌ thought that he was dealing with young folk. Going up to the first couple he saw, he asked: "Boy, where is your father?" Then turning to the woman, he said: "Where is your mother, girl?" The dwarf sprang up and called his comrades: "Look you! ɛ̌ɔ̌ treats us like children because we are small and he is big!" They all gathered around, shouting: "Let us play a little with him, and we shall see if he is a real man!" In spite of their small stature these pygmies had prodigious strength. They suspended ɛ̌ɔ̌ by the tips of two of his fingers, and then passed him from hand to hand. Then they threw him up into the air, stopping his fall with the palm of a hand. Finally, they sent him away.

Further on, ɛ̌ɔ̌ encountered a people who lacked an anus. They had lots of provisions but could not eat them, limiting themselves to inhaling the odors that drifted up from the cooking. He married a woman of this people. When she observed how her husband ate, she wanted at all cost to imitate him. In spite of ɛ̌ɔ̌'s advising her not to, she began to eat and found it good. Shortly afterward, however, she began to feel violent pains. ɛ̌ɔ̌ counseled her to try to vomit, but she did not succeed. Finally, no longer able to bear the agony, she asked her husband to rip up her anus with a knife. ɛ̌ɔ̌ carried out the operation, and she defecated, but she died shortly after. Then ɛ̌ɔ̌ returned to the earth's surface.

This underworld where ɛ̌ɔ̌ sojourned, the same from which aria'na brought maize, is called ãčĩa'ku, "without flower," I do not know why. It is distinct from the other underworld, na:'pi, where the demons live.

The demons.—The most characteristic demons of the subaquatic world are the dyĕ'vaĕ, monsters in the form of gigantic snakes or catfish, which cause treacherous currents. Some are multicolored, like the rainbow, which is nothing but one of these demons. Until the turn of the century there was a dyĕ'vaĕ at the mouth of the

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Igarapé de São Jeronymo on the Solimões, which caused an extremely dangerous current costing many lives (see p. 67) and sometimes made it impracticable for anyone to enter the igarapé. The shaman Domingos čuˈnekɨ—who was the last true chief of the Tukuna of this igarapé and was grandfather of the shaman Calixto daueruˈkɨ—once passed this place with four other Indians and, finding the current extraordinarily violent, said: "Someone must have irritated the dyëˈvaë!" He made an infusion of tobacco in a gourd, drinking it through his nostrils, rolled two long tauarí cigarettes and smoked for a long time. What he did later, Calixto, who was still a boy, did not see, because he slept during the ceremony, but by the next morning the rough current was smooth and quiet.

Later, he heard the old man tell how he had almost failed to return from his visit to the dyëˈvaë, and say that now the demon was his friend because he had given him a tobacco infusion to drink through his nostrils. The demon had also told the name of the person who had enraged him, and since then the spot has not been dangerous. Twice a dyëˈvaë tried to run aground on his back, "like on a beach," the canoe in which Calixto was traveling. On one of these occasions the leaves of the trees appeared to him like a kaleidoscope of colors from the reflection of the dyëˈvaë's colors. Calixto saved himself by hanging onto the paddle with all his strength.

Once, during a thunderstorm, in a deep sinkhole (poço) in the Rio Solimões, near the old village of Santa Cruz dos Kokáma, Calixto saw a dyëˈvaë raise his head and neck in the form of a hook above the waters of the river, slowly sinking again. When the head touched the surface of the water, there was a flash of lightning, produced by the demon's opening his eyes beneath the water. This dyëˈvaë owns the fish in the Solimões" and appears as the eastern rainbow; the dyëˈvaë of the western rainbow is the owner of potter's clay [see p. 46]. The legendary mortal enemy of all the dyëˈvaë clan is tau/čipëˈ, who, though of human origin, by his education in the subaquatic world acquired demoniacal qualities that at last turned him into an enemy of humanity.

tau/čipëˈ

A woman in the last stage of pregnancy went to fetch clay with which to make pottery. dyëˈvaë, the owner of the clay, became infuriated, pulled her beneath the water, and swallowed her. Arriving home, he vomited her up and quartered her. He and his companions kept the fetus for roe. A female of the large rays asked for it, and they gave her the fetus. She cradled it carefully beneath the undersurface of her flat body, swimming with it to the calm water near the bank. There she deposited it, curving her body over it, and brooded over it a long time. At last she heard the child cry. She removed him and gave him suck. Then, with great care, so as not to drown him, she carried him to her dwelling beneath the water. The ray brought up the child and gave him the name of tau/čipëˈ. She told him that she was not his mother, who had been killed by the dyëˈvaë. She made a magic basketwork, placed it on the boy's head, and interlaced his hair with it so that the hair, and with it the boy's strength, would increase.

tau/čipëˈ wanted to kill the dyëˈvaë immediately, but the ray advised him not to try it yet, because he was still very weak. When he was six years old, his hair had already grown down to his belt, and he again insisted on attempting to fight the dyëˈvaë, but his foster mother still would not permit it. Two more years passed, and by then his hair had grown down to his heels; then he wished to delay no longer. He broke off branches of the *tarypeiro* tree" with fire ants

" See the legend of maˈmaneˈki, pp. 151–153.
" *Tachygalia* sp. or *Sclerolobium* sp.?

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539 776 [*Pseudomyrma dendroica*] clinging to them in swarms, tying the branches round his body. Thus he climbed up a tree branch that hung over the water's edge and challenged the demon to come and fight him. dyĕ'vaš appeared, gave him a shock like that of an electric eel, *poraquê* [*Gymnotus electricus*, L.] and swallowed him. "It was thus that he swallowed my mother," said tau/čipĕ' to himself. Later, however, dyĕ'vaš' felt such a burning in his stomach from the bites of the fire ants that he vomited up tau/čipĕ'.

Thereupon the hero transformed himself into a large snake and fought with dyĕ'vaš, in spite of all the ray's advice. Lacerating each other with their jaws, they rolled to and fro until tau/čipĕ' who, owing to the ray's magic, could squeeze the harder, succeeded in bursting his adversary.

Because of this the other dyĕ'vaš hated him. tau/čipĕ', in human form, went ashore, where he gathered a large quantity of cicantã resin,[28] with which he smeared the bench [seat] of the great snakes, which got stuck to it and died. Other demons he challenged to combat, battling with them in the form of a snake. They tore at each other with their jaws until he had killed them.

Then he heard it said that somewhere on dry land his older brother, named pɔva'ru, still lived. He sought him out and invited him to be his companion. To give them both equal strength, tau/čipĕ' made his brother a magic belt like the one made by the ray. But precisely because of their magical powers the two became hated by all men. When the two brothers later learned that evil was being spoken of them, they transformed themselves into great snakes, dug under their enemies' dwellings, and undermined the houses so that they sank with all their inhabitants.[29] Thus they killed many people. The survivors waited for an occasion when the two brothers were in their midst and, springing at them with poisoned spears, killed them.

Other demons of the subaquatic world are the tënënë'naa, who have the shape of caimans, of whom the following legend is told.

The End of Maloca Kuyarú[30]

ãu'ča gave birth to a son. Then they [the tribesmen] killed the daughter of tënčnë'naa. The father of tënčnë'naa appeared and asked her [ãu'ča]: "Where did my dear [daughter] go, O ãu'ča?"

ãu'ča replied: "They killed her; I, however, did not eat of her because my dear [son] here is just born." [She was under restrictions.] Then the tënënë'naa sang the following: "Go, and if it is the truth, O ãu'ča, that you refused her [flesh], there is a sorva tree [*Couma* sp.] and a cicantã tree [*Protium heptaphyllum*, Aubl.], one in front of the other. Anoint the soles of your feet with cicantã, and then make balls for yourself with burity seeds and still more cicantã, if it is true that you rejected tënënë'naa, O ãu'ča!"

ãu'ča told this to the people, who laughed at her: "ãu'ča is lying because she has a male child on her lap!" Then she remained silent in regard [to the subject]. At midnight the tënënë'naa began to roar. They [the inhabitants] became furious and ran up and down with their spears, but ãu'ča ran in silence. To all sides she threw burity seeds rolled in cicantã and rubbed cicantã on the soles of her feet. She threw the burity seeds in every direction [to lead the demons astray with the smell of cicantã]; those which fell into the igarapé went "Pung!" and the others which she threw went "Pang!" Then she followed those which went "Pang!" and with that escaped. The earth [undermined] split asunder and slid [into the water], and she also went to na:'pi [here the subaquatic world] and there hung up her hammock.

The Culture Heroes: The Immortals

773 In the old days the most bloodthirsty enemy of the demons was the culture hero dyoi', the personage of major luster in Tukuna religion. He is the creator of humanity, the originator of all tribal laws and customs, and the one who invented or

[28] From *Protium heptaphyllum*, Aubl.

[29] I was shown the spot where this happened, on the left bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, not quite a kilometer above its mouth.

[30] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text. Kuyarú is a lake on the Rio Jacurapá, a tributary of the Rio Içá.

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acquired the most important elements of material culture. At times hard and cruel, he is never the rascally deceiver of humanity represented by the culture heroes of certain other mythologies. Even with his shameless brother, ɛ'pi—a fool, a meddler, and a liar—he is indulgent and helpful, and only once exacts punishment. The Tukuna do not like to call him dyɔi', but give him the title of ta-na'tį̣ ("Our Father"), bain' or bu'i, when they do not call him tẹ'gịne ṅa'pį̣i' va ya ("He of the right knee"), in contrast to tɔvẽ' ṅa'pį̣i' va ya ("He of the left knee"), the name by which they refer to ɛ'pi.

The Origin of dyɔi' and His Siblings[a]

ãu'/tapa grew angry with his wife from time to time. Finally, he tied her to a tree. The hornets stung her genitals. A caucan above her cried: "kɔ'-kɔ-kɔ!" ma:'/pana said: "Oh, if you were a man, O caucan, you would untie me!" The caucan transformed himself into a man because of her. He untied her. He rolled the hornets' nest between his palms [to diminish its size]. Then he gave her the hornets' nest. "With this you will be revenged!" said the caucan. ãu'/tapa recognized her at once; he played on the Panpipes for her: "Who does not recognize this ma:'/pana standing on the point of land!" She tried in vain to surprise him. She crouched at the foot of a sapopema, hiding, but ãu'/tapa recognized her at once. Finally she lost her judgment and ran after him. ma:'/pana threw the hornets' nest at his back. The hornets stung ãu'/tapa all over his body; he swelled up. Later the swelling from the hornets' stings subsided; only his knees did not reduce in size, and finally he had a fever. Then ãu'/tapa sat outside in the sun and called his children. "Dear ones, look at what is hurting me so!" he said. They looked. "Papa, it is only a man in your right knee who is planing his blowgun," said ãu'/tapa's children, "and another person sewing her purse net!" [See p. 18.] Then they looked at his left knee: "Papa, it is only a man in your other knee who is scraping his spear, and another person weaving her burden basket!"

Then dyɔi' [in the right knee] had finished: "Let us go! I must fish [with the purse net]!" he said. Answered ɛ'pi [in the left knee]: "Let us go! I must spear pigs!" he said. Answered a'jkịna, ɛ'pi's sister: "Let us go! I must dig manioc!" she said.

ṅu'/tapa Dead and Revived

The four siblings when they emerged from ãu'/tapa's knees were the size of children five years old, and they immediately began to walk. ãu'/tapa recovered slowly. After some time he went out alone to fish with timbó, when a jaguar attacked and devoured him. The four brothers and sisters remained in the care of tɔpe'tịne, ãu'/tapa's mother, who never left off bewailing the death of her son, but when the children asked why he had been killed, she would answer: "It was ashes that killed him." Then the children filled a burden basket with ashes, spilling it over themselves, but they did not die. They again asked the grandmother and she replied: "An ambé leaf fell on him." The children waited beneath an ambé plant until a leaf fell on them, but it killed no one. Only when they were fully grown did tɔpe'tịne tell them the truth. Then dyɔi' and ɛ'pi made a high corral of acapé trunks and on top of it a platform three times as high as a man, on which they lay down. dyɔi' plucked out one of a'jkịna's long hairs and interlaced the ends so as to form a circle, which he slowly drew together. Soon, beginning at the north, the earth grew smaller, forcing all the animals to run south and to the corral, where they had to pass by the brothers' platform. One jaguar after another passed, and they asked each one: "By any chance was it you who devoured ãu'/tapa?" But all replied: "No, the one who did it is still behind me!"

Finally the slayer of ãu'/tapa arrived. She made a horn from the victim's stomach and on it she was playing: "ãu'/tapa arị tịeri' duru'ru!"; but seeing the two brothers on the platform, she quickly swallowed the stomach and began to weep and lament: "Oh, my grandchildren! Such a toothache!" Then dyɔi' brought a chain [*sic*] and, showing it to the jaguar, said: "Look at your necklace, grandmother!"

[a] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text.

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539 The jaguar permitted them to place the chain round her neck, and so she was a prisoner. "Let's see your teeth!" said dyoi', and struck her on the nose with a stone; the jaguar fell senseless, but she clenched her jaws. With difficulty dyoi' managed to pry them open at last with a billet of acapú wood. And there in the jaguar's gullet appeared the tip of ãũ'/tapa's stomach. ɛ'pi tried to get it out with the end of a pole, but proceeded with such ineptitude as to make it rebound, flying far away in a great curve. It fell into the water, where a gigantic caiman swallowed it. The brothers killed the jaguar, breaking all her bones. Then they tried to reach the caiman, throwing ants' nests into the water until a dry surface was formed, with the exception of a pool wherein the creature lay. They made a loop of the chain and, hanging it from the tip of a pole, passed it over the caiman's head. They throttled him, bringing him ashore; but his jaws had locked, and it cost them a tremendous amount of labor to open them. When finally they had succeeded, the bumbling ɛ'pi again exerted such force that ãũ'/tapa's stomach sprang suddenly from the caiman's gullet to some distance away, and was gulped down by a forest lizard, taũ. In vain the two brothers strove to open grandmother's mouth; she stubbornly refused to give up the prize.

dyoi' was obliged to hunt for a live coal and apply it to the lizard's throat, and this is why it has a red mark to this day in the corresponding place. ãũ'/tapa's stomach appeared in "granny's" mouth, but again ɛ'pi made it spring out suddenly with the tip of his pole, the stomach coming to rest between the wings of a big, blue butterfly [*Morpho menelaus*]. The butterfly closed its wings and would not give up the stomach for any price. They had to burn a hole in its wings. This time dyoi' did not permit ɛ'pi to meddle. He himself took out the stomach and, with it and the flesh and bones found in the jaguar's belly, recomposed ãũ'/tapa's body. He stamped his foot on the ground, whereupon ãũ'/tapa sprang up, saying: "My son, you have frightened me!"

[115] *Version collected in 1929.*—The two preceding episodes were told to me in quite a different way by "Captain" Felix of Igarapé de Belém in 1929.[*]

ngutapa became angry with his wife; he tied her with her legs spread so that her privates were exposed to hornet stings. The caneau freed the woman, who made the hornets attack ngutapa. The hornet stings caused an enormous swelling in ngutapa's right knee, from which finally came two boys, dyoi' and ipi, and two girls, ai'ke and muwaču. ngutapa, in the form of a deer, was eaten by a jaguar in the jungle, but dyoi' and ipi resolved to avenge him. They made cannibal fish (piranhas) and put them in the igarapé, where the jaguar was accustomed to cross over on top of a log bridge. This they made slippery by daubing it with ambaúva juice so that the jaguar slipped and fell into the water, where she was killed by the voracious fish. They placed her cadaver on shore, taking from her belly the remains of ngutapa, which dyoi' put together again and reanimated with a kick. ngutapa got up and asked how long he had been sleeping.

This version is quite condensed, and on one or another point perhaps I may not have understood the narrator well, but the way in which he told of the jaguar's [171] death is noteworthy because of the parallels in other mythologies.

The Acquisition of Daylight

In early times a permanent darkness reigned on earth. A sumahuma tree covered the entire sky with its foliage, permitting no light to pass through. The nocturnal monkey used to pass by every day. He had eaten nanone-cane fruits [i.g., arara tucupy] and, because of this, each time he let fall his excrements one would see a glow. dyoi' observed him and, following him secretly, found the fruit tree. He gathered a quantity of hulls from the ground and invented the hurling-fork.[*] With it he threw hull after hull against the leafy cover. The projectiles pierced it, and through each hole a small light appeared. Thus the stars were formed.

[*] Nimuendajú, Tukuna-Indianern, p. 189.

[*] T., kv|ruruč'/, a stick split at one end with a cord tied below the split. The cord is rolled round a seed, placed in the cleft, and cast with a forceful snap of the forearm. Speiser observed similar [411] instruments among the Aparaí, Rydén among the Toba, and I among the Šerénte.

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Having verified in this way that light existed above the foliage, he, together with his brother ɵ'pi and aided by ants and termites, began to fell the tree. Cutting the trunk, they severed it completely, but the tree did not fall. They thought that some liana was holding it above, and dyɔi' promised a'ĵkĵna, ɵ'pi's sister, in marriage to anyone who would climb up and loosen the tree. A number of suitors appeared, but none succeeded in reaching the top. The big squirrel [acutipuré] tried, but climbed only as high as a house roof and soon returned. When the little squirrel [ta'ĵno] also presented himself, everyone thought that the result would be even worse. He, however, climbed to the topmost branches and saw that it was not a liana but a two-toed sloth [*Bradypus didactylus*] that was holding the tree up. The squirrel returned, collected many fire ants [T., u'/no], placed them on his flattened tail, and climbed up again. Coming up to the sloth, he threw the ants into its eyes, then quickly descended, since the sloth immediately let go of the tree and began to fall. The squirrel had not yet reached the ground when the tree crashed, and from the force of the rebound his tail was bent over his back. He married a'ĵkĵna.

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The Acquisition of Sleep

The only one who possessed sleep in the old days was pë'ta, who belonged to a generation much older than ñũ'/tapa. He slept like a dead man, but dyɔi' and his kinfolk could not sleep. dyɔi' went to see pë'ta and asked him to give him a little of his sleep. pë'ta grasped the hair on top of his own head with one hand and then, placing the hand on dyɔi''s head, said: "Take the sleep!" But it was a lie; he gave nothing to dyɔi', who as before was unable to sleep. So he waited until pë'ta was asleep and then sneaked up to him. With both hands he lifted off the sleep from pë'ta and placed it on himself, but only over his chest and face so that he would not fall into too deep slumber. pë'ta's domestic animal was the toad vaa'. Seeing what dyɔi' was doing, she cried out: "Wake up, master! Someone's trying to steal your sleep!" pë'ta, who had been dreaming, awoke in a rage at the disturbance and seized his lance, but vaa' quickly set a pot containing urucú dye on her head. pë'ta thrust his lance into the pot and, examining the tip, mistook the red urucú for blood, and lay down again satisfied, but he could not sleep.

After some time vaa' again shouted: "Wake up! Here comes a wild beast!" and again quickly set the urucú pot on her head. Again pë'ta aimed the lance at her, which struck the pot instead, so that examining the lance head he still thought it was blood. Only after the third time did he realize that he had been fooled.

dyɔi' and ɵ'pi in the Royal Hawk's Nest

dyɔi' and ɵ'pi set out to kill a royal hawk whose nest was in a tall and enormously thick tree. They tied poles together as a ladder and climbed up. Arriving at the top, ɵ'pi looked down and said: "Dear brother, I think the ladder is falling!" And immediately the ladder came apart, the pieces falling to the ground. The two could no longer climb down, and so they remained squatting in the nest until they both were half dead from thirst. Suddenly dyɔi' saw an aiẽa' bird flying past and said: "Oh, if you were only a man and could bring us water!" The bird assumed human form and brought them a small gourd filled with pamá-fruit juice. ɵ'pi drank first and, as dyɔi' remained silent, drank excessively, but he still did not empty the gourd; then dyɔi' also drank. Presently ɵ'pi wished to urinate, but dyɔi' yelled at him: "Restrain yourself, my brother!" ɵ'pi squeezed his penis, but the urine oozed out from between his fingers and became transformed into the spiny-barked *cipó ambé*.

Finally, the last drops fell upon a branch, but one very far below, and there the cipó became attached. Then dyɔi' urinated straight down. His urine became transformed into the smooth-barked cipó ambé, and as the last drop fell on the branch where they were, the plant attached itself. They killed the royal hawk with a blowgun when he returned to the nest, and he fell to the earth. Then dyɔi' transformed himself into a nocturnal monkey and ɵ'pi into an opossum, in which shapes they both clambered down the liana.

The Dishonor of mɔva'ĕa

dyɔi' and ɵ'pi carried the dead royal hawk home, but when they divided the kill among themselves, ɵ'pi insisted absolutely that he should receive the right half. dyɔi', however, thought that his

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539 brother should get the left half, since dyəi' had emerged from ãʊ'/tapa's right knee and ɛ'pi from the left. ɛ'pi continued to wheedle, but dyəi' remained firm, giving the right half to mɔvaˈčа, insisting that she exchange the halves. mɔvaˈčа hid her half between her knees and, when ɛ'pi sought to snatch it away, he touched his sister's privates. At once she was transformed into a collared peccary (taitetá) and ran along the bank of the igarapé, where she began to eat swamp snails. There the demon ma/ši' of the Jaguar clan found her and, realising that she had been dishonored by her brother, shot her with one of his hornet-shaped darts. mɔvaˈčа ran back to the house, where she fell dead. dyəi' examined her carefully, forbidding ɛ'pi to approach, but the latter, promising to cover his eyes with his hands, kept inching forward and peeping through his fingers, and thus saw dyəi' eventually discover the hornet's sting in mɔvaˈčа's sexual parts and remove it. After some time she began to stir, and by afternoon she was well once again.

dyəi' and ɛ'pi Kill the Demon ma/ši'

dyəi' and ɛ'pi made a fish weir in the igarapé, but every day the paturi [a small duck][a] opened the enclosure in order to swim through. Finally dyəi' grew angry and threatened to kill her. She heard the threat and replied: "Grandson, why do you wish to kill me instead of your enemy who sings your names [derogatively]? Really, your hearing is quite bad. Come here and rest your head on my lap!" She plucked a feather from her wing and with it removed a quantity of royal-hawk plumage from the two brothers' ears, so that at once they heard the jaguar demon ma/ši singing and mocking them because of their sister mɔvaˈčа's dishonor. The duck gave them the form of two pigeon fledglings. In a torrential downpour she arrived with them at ma/ši'ˈs house, asking for a place near the fire for herself and her little grandchildren, and her request was granted. ma/ši was seated by his mortar.[b] He called ambaúva leaves to come so he could pound them up in the mortar and eat the resulting paste, but the leaves did not come as before. At length ma/ši' arose to fetch them himself. On the way he stopped, glanced back, and caught sight of a ripe fruit on the trunk of an abiú tree hardly a handbreadth above the ground. Hurrying back, he tried to pick it, but as he approached, the fruit rose higher and was soon out of reach. Seeing this, he again set off after the ambaúva leaves, but, turning his head, he saw once more the abiú fruit quite close to the ground. He ran back as fast as he could, but the fruit again rose beyond his grasp. Then he gave up and went to search for ambaúva leaves, but did not find any. He returned to the house in a rage and, brandishing a club, dashed toward the little pigeons. "Is it perchance dyəi' who is doing this to me?" But the duck held her wings over the two in protection, pleading for her grandchildren's lives. ma/ši' again set out to hunt for ambaúva leaves. The scene with the elusive fruit was repeated and again he did not find what he sought. At last dyəi' cried: "Abiú, do not flee!" And when ma/ši' came by, the fruit remained within reach. Promptly he seized it with both hands, but it turned into a wasps' nest, the inmates of which attacked him without mercy. He ran to the house and cried: "Mortar, help me!"

But the mortar turned into a tarantula, which bit him. "Help me, club!" he screamed, but the club turned into a snake and also bit him. Thereupon dyəi' and ɛ'pi resumed human form and attacked him with clubs, killing him. A jaguar, passing by and seeing what occurred, cried out: "Don't crush his skull! I want to make a horn for myself!" The duck asked for the wrist bones, and the brothers kept the thigh bones for themselves in order to make flutes from them. The soul of ma/ši' is now in the upper world. There it attacks the souls of the incestuous when they arrive. Then one hears on earth the muted humming of ma/ši'ˈs hornets."

Version collected in 1929.—In 1929 I collected in the Igarapé de Belém the following quite incomplete and poorly understood version of this episode:

dyəi' and ipi met in the jungle the female [?] demon maši making coco [? pariá!] powder and singing the two brothers' names. These two created poisonous snakes, scorpions, and centipedes at the foot of an ambaúva tree, forbidding the leaves to fly to maši when she called them in order to burn them [ambaúva-leaf ash is mixed in with pariá powder]. When the leaves failed to

[a] *Querquedula brasiliensis?*
[b] T., kaˈčiˈ, an object never used by the Tukuna.
[c] See p. 110.

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appear at maĕ's call, she went to the tree herself, where she was bitten by the poisonous creatures and died. The brothers made flutes from her leg bones, abandoning the rest of the skeleton to various animals for similar purposes. 539

e'pi Liberates Gnats and Mosquitoes

dyɔi' and e'pi each made, in the jungle, a long fence with some openings, in which they set nooses to catch the birds and small animals that might attempt to pass through [see p. 31]. In one of dyɔi''s snares a forest turkey became trapped by one leg. e'pi, who visited the traps every hour, discovered it first. Removing it and placing it in his own snare, he ran to tell his brother that he had caught a turkey. The fowl was so tame that he decided to keep it as a pet. It slept on the ridgepole of the house, and at dawn began to sing: "dyɔi''s snare caught me by the leg; e'pi carried me to his!" e'pi, enraged at hearing this, went to fetch a long pole, with which he killed the bird on top of the house. His sister carried it to the edge of the igarapé to take out the tripes. As she removed the stomach, she heard within it a humming sound. She did not open it but hid the stomach. At this point e'pi arrived and asked: "Sister, where is the forest turkey's stomach?" "I threw it away," answered the girl. "Where did you throw it? I want it!" demanded e'pi, but she refused to show him where she had hidden it. Then e'pi waited until she returned to the house, then searched along the bank until he found the stomach hidden beneath a tree trunk from which they used to dip water. But when he opened it, out poured a cloud of gnats and mosquitoes which attacked him with such fury that he fell dead upon the spot. After the turkey had been prepared, dyɔi' called in vain for his brother. Searching for him, he went down to the landing and found him dead at the water's edge, covered by a cloud of insects. dyɔi' fetched him a kick in the backside, whereupon e'pi sprang up at once, crying: "My brother, how you have frightened me!"

e'pi on the ba'ĕ Demon's Hook

A ba'ĕ demon was seated on the bank of an igarapé, fishing with a hook, which got entangled at the bottom of the creek. dyɔi' came along with e'pi, who saw that the ba'ĕ did not know what to do, and took pity on him. In spite of his brother's advice to the contrary, e'pi decided to release the ba'ĕ's hook. Transformed into a small otter, e'pi swam toward the hook, but this leaped at him, hooking him. The ba'ĕ pulled him ashore, killed him, and carried him to his [the demon's] own house. After pondering for a long time what he should do, dyɔi' decided to rescue his brother in the afternoon. All the demons had gone off to the work party of one of them when dyɔi' entered the house. Taking poison from the vaa' toad, he mixed it with the drink, caiçuma, that was in the jars. e'pi's body was in a pot, transformed into mush. As soon as the ba'ĕ demons returned from work, they began to swill the poisoned beverage. At first they felt nothing, but when they wished to begin their meal they fell dead, one after another. Only one, who had been delayed on the path and arrived late, saw the others dead on the floor and fled. Then dyɔi' came out of his hiding place, removed the flesh and bones of e'pi from the pot, and recomposed his brother. He stamped his foot on the ground, and at once e'pi sprang up, saying: "My brother, you have frightened me!"

Version collected in 1929.—A fragment of this episode, also poorly understood in part, was given to me in 1929 by "Captain" Felix. [113]

The brothers met in the forest the u'kai demons,[11] who were returning home to eat. The two waited until the demons had gone into the jungle again, and then poisoned their drinking water with toad ashes. In the afternoon the u'kai returned thirsty, drank the poisoned water, and fell dead, one after another. Only the last to arrive became suspicious and fled.

e'pi in the ba'ĕ Demon's Snare

dyɔi' and e'pi found in the jungle a noose set by some ba'ĕ. "Do you want to see, brother," asked e'pi, "how I kick at this?" But dyɔi' advised him to leave the snare as it was. e'pi trod on the

[11] According to the most recent information, the belief is that these demons live on the earth's surface, below the jungle undergrowth.

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539 noose and was caught in it by the buttocks. In vain, dyaí' strove to untie the knot, which was tied in a certain way known only to the ba'ü.

Then he rapidly wove a basket of naruná and placed it over e'pi's head, thereby transforming his brother into a deer. By then the ba'ü was arriving to examine his snare. He killed the deer, sucked its nose, and then untied the knot without the slightest difficulty. dyaí' observed everything from his hiding place. The ba'ü lifted the kill to carry it home but, finding it too heavy, set about to make a carrying strap of envira. He found a matamatá tree, but the envira was no good.[m] He found another tree, but that was even worse. On the third tree the loosened strip grew wider and wider at the top and could not be pulled free in spite of all the ba'ü's efforts. Finally, he was obliged to climb the tree in order to cut the bark free at its upper end. Meanwhile dyaí' revived his brother and both fled.

The Girl of the Umarí Fruit

dyaí' and e'pi went to attend the puberty festival of their niece, the daughter of the squirrel, ta'ĵne, who had married their sister a'ĵkĵna [see p. 124]. e'pi no longer recognized his brother-in-law and, while the brothers were returning from the celebration, he repeatedly asked who had been the host, but dyaí' always replied that he did not know either. At the feast it had been arranged that dyaí', not e'pi, was to get the girl. However, e'pi insisted that he wanted to marry her and for this purpose wished to return to ta'ĵne's house, but he could no longer find the way.

Meanwhile, the girl had already arrived at the brothers' house. In the yard there stood a large umarí tree [T., tĩ'ẽi]. She transformed herself into an umarí fruit, the only one on the tree, whence her name tẽẽi-arĵ-áuĵ' ["Girl of Umarí"]. As soon as he saw it, e'pi wished to pick the fruit, but dyaí' forbade him. Then e'pi swept the ground clear beneath the tree in order to find the fruit as soon as it should drop, and bided his time.

dyaí' went hunting, killed many birds, and returned, tired and stained with blood. Giving the birds to e'pi for cleaning and plucking, he went off to bathe. Meanwhile the umarí fruit fell. The girl again assumed human form and waited for dyaí', who soon joined her. He rolled her between the palms of his hands, thus reducing her size until he was able to conceal her inside his bone flute. Much later, e'pi finished his labors and, returning to the house, saw at once that the fruit was neither on the tree nor on the ground. He accused his brother of having eaten or hidden it, but dyaí' answered that probably some agouti had carried it off.

For four days dyaí' went nightly to bring the girl to his hammock, playing with her in silence. Always just before daybreak he hid her once more in his bone flute. On the fifth night she laughed with him and the little snailshell bells on her armbands tinkled. "My brother," immediately asked e'pi, "with whom are you laughing?" "Nothing," answered dyaí'. "The broom laughed because I tickled it!" Then e'pi got up, fetched a broom, tied a snailshell bell on it, lay down with the broom in his hammock, and began to tickle it. "Brother," he complained, "the broom does not laugh!" "So?" answered dyaí'. "Mine does!" When on the following night e'pi again heard the girl's laughter, he began to ask who was with dyaí', and the latter replied that he was playing with the rocking-board. e'pi at once got up to bring a rocking-board to his hammock and began to tickle it. However, it did not laugh.

tẽẽiarĵáuĵ' was now dyaí''s wife, but he continued to hide her in the bone flute every day before dawn, so that e'pi would not see her. However, the latter was convinced that his brother had a wife and he searched for her everywhere. One day when dyaí' had gone hunting, e'pi took his bow and arrows and shot a large quantity of small fish [ai"ke] in the igapó. He brought them home, where he poured them into a large potsherd, which he placed over the fire. When the sherd grew hot, the still living fish began to jump about. e'pi then pulled his penis free of his waist cord and danced around the fire, singing: "ĵau tarakunyẽ'-nyẽ'-nyẽ'!" With this, his penis began to flop up and down.

tẽẽiarĵáuĵ' saw this from her hiding place and could not resist laughing. At once e'pi stopped and looked all around, listening carefully, but as he discovered nothing he continued his dance. Once more tẽẽiarĵáuĵ' had to laugh, and this time e'pi discovered her inside the flute. He pulled

[m] The bast of the envira de matamatá (*Eschweilera* sp.) may be ripped away from top to bottom, after the initial cut has been made, the long strips being of equal width.

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her out, fornicated with her, and afterward attempted to place her in the flute again, but he could not do so, for she was already big with child. 539

Then ɛ'pi went to collect some *paxubinha* fruits and rubbed the white paste on his glans. Thus he went to meet his brother and, when he saw him approaching, he cried: "Look, brother! I still have all this tallow from the very beginning on my glans!" [That is, he had not yet enjoyed coitus.] So saying, he pulled back the foreskin and the white paste fell out. However, dyoi' realized what had happened and paid no attention to ɛ'pi or to tččiarjâui' who, being pregnant, was seated in the house. Irritated, he threw the game to one side, roasting a toucan for himself and eating it alone.

The next morning the boy tɛ̨ku-kjra' ["Tail feather," a name of the kə'u clan] was born. dyoi' ordered ɛ'pi to bring genipapo fruits in order to paint his son black. ɛ'pi climbed up the genipapo tree, but the more he climbed the higher the tree grew. He had already climbed so high that he could see the Rio Solimões [about five leagues away] from his perch. "Brother," shouted ɛ'pi, "I think I see the Omágua coming downstream!" "Hold your tongue!" dyoi' ordered angrily, "What did you have to say that for?" "No," answered ɛ'pi, "these people are good for us to fight." That is why the Omágua were the deadly enemies of the Tukuna.

ɛ'pi finally picked a genipapo fruit on the topmost branch of the tree and began to climb down, but in order to punish him dyoi' caused an enormous fungus [orelha de pau] to grow horizontally round the circumference of the trunk. ɛ'pi, transformed into a *tucandira* ant, finally managed to overcome the obstacle. dyoi' ordered him to grate the genipapo. After grating the fruit, ɛ'pi asked: "Is this enough?" "Not yet," replied his brother, "keep on grating!" "Is it enough now?" ɛ'pi asked after a while, but dyoi' ordered him to continue. ɛ'pi grated his hands, his arms, and finally all of himself, so that he became mixed in with the genipapo. dyoi' took this to tččiarjâui' so that she might paint the child black, advising her not to lose any of the residue. This remained for three days in a leaf bowl of açahy spatulate.

Version collected in 1929.—My informant of 1929 told this story in the following way.

In the jungle there was a woman with her little daughter, fleeing from the u'kai, who had already devoured all her kin. Seeing the path blocked by a copse of *tiririca* shrubs the girl began to cry and refused to go on. Then the mother ordered her to go with dyoi'. dyoi' made the girl climb an umari tree, where she was transformed into a fruit; hence her name, tččariui.

In the afternoon she began to sing, and at night she took human form and went to play with dyoi'. ipi, hearing her laughter in the darkness, asked who was with dyoi', and dyoi' replied that the rocking-board was laughing because he had tickled it. ipi got up, brought a rocking-board and tickled it, but it did not laugh, and the same thing happened with the grinding-trough and with the broom, which he tried successively in accordance with his brother's answers.

By morning tččariui again transformed herself into an umari fruit, singing the brothers' names from her branch. In vain, ipi searched for the singer while dyoi' was in the jungle. At midday the fruit ripened and fell, and ipi at once ran forward to seize it, but she hid herself. ipi swept the ground surrounding the tree, with a broom, but failed to find her. At night, tččariui again went to dyoi''s hammock; she was already a young woman [i.e., nubile]. She laughed no more but slept with him. In the morning dyoi' hid her in his bone flute before going off into the jungle.

ipi went to the igarapé to catch *tamoatás*. He brought a basketful to the house, kindled a fire beneath the oven, and spilled the fish into it. The tamoatás jumped about in the hot oven, and ipi danced round them. tččariui saw this from her hiding place and laughed. At once ipi searched for her but could not find her. Twice more he repeated this scene with the fish until he finally discovered her in the flute. Blowing on this, he forced tččariui out and had coitus with her until his sperm exuded from her mouth and nostrils. Afterward he wished to return her once more to the flute. Since she was pregnant, she could no longer enter.

Then ipi grew fearful of his brother. He smeared the white paste from tucum nuts over his glans to give the impression that he had not had intercourse for a long time; thus he went to meet dyoi'. dyoi' at once realized what had taken place; seizing tččariui, he shook her, and with this she gave birth to the boy tieki'. Then dyoi' ordered his brother to fetch genipapo fruits to

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539 paint the child. He forced ipi to climb the tree upside down and to pick the fruits with his feet. From above, ipi shouted that in the distance he could see people: they were the Omágua who were coming down the Rio Solimões, riding the current in their dugouts.

dyoi' caused an enormous fungus to grow round the tree trunk, but ipi, in the form of a tucandira ant, passed over the obstacle. Then dyoi' caused a spiny bush [*nanahy*] to appear at the foot of the tree, but ipi, in the form of a fleck of cotton, let himself fall lightly and reached the ground unharmed. Then dyoi' ordered him to grate the fruits. When these had been grated, he would not permit ipi to stop but compelled him to grate his hands, his arms, and finally himself, he being mixed in with the grated fruits. dyoi' painted the boy with it [the mixture], left the rest in the igarapé, and constructed an enclosure round it. Many small fish remained imprisoned within the enclosure, and so they grew up, feeding themselves from the substance.

The Creation of Mankind

dyoi' went hunting, but when he returned he gave nothing to töčiarjâvi', so she suffered from hunger. She thought: "Oh, if e'pi were only here I should not be hungry!" dyoi' read her thoughts and asked: "Do you want my brother again?" "Yes," she replied, "because while he was here I lacked nothing." Then dyoi' ordered her to throw the remaining genipapo into the waters of the igarapé where she and the child were wont to bathe. Afterward he went to hunt and brought her many monkeys and birds so that she might eat her fill, since he was no longer angry with her. Afterward he constructed a fence of anajá palm stalks round the residue.

From the substance was generated a large number of small fish, but e'pi was not among them.[*] dyoi' began to angle for them with a hook, using a stone as bait at first. As soon as he pulled these fish out of the water they were transformed into jaguars. Then he tried with bait of urucuri hulls, and the fish he caught were transformed into squirrels. He tried fishing with tucumã hulls, and the fish thus hooked were changed into pigs. Finally, using sweet manioc as bait, he caught a fish which was transformed into an Indian.

He continued to fish with this bait until he had caught a large number of people. Suddenly, he sighted e'pi approaching in the shape of a fish with a golden spot on its head. dyoi' threw the bait to him several times, but e'pi did not bite. Then dyoi' called töčiarjâvi' and handed her the hook; hardly had she thrown the line, when e'pi darted at the bait, allowing himself to be hooked and pulled ashore, where he immediately resumed his human form and began to tell this tale.

He had come from the land of gold [T., u'iru, Lg., *ouro*, gold] in the east and, as soon as they should part again, would return there where there was this brilliant thing; and he said that dyoi' should go to the west. However, dyoi' first of all ordered him to fish for men also. But e'pi killed all his fish as soon as he had caught them, giving them no chance to become transformed into people, until töčiarjâvi' showed him how to proceed.

Version collected in 1929.—The legend was told me in 1929, as follows.

When the fish in dyoi''s enclosure were large, he baited his hook with a stone and went there. All the fish he pulled ashore became pigs; because of this [the stone bait?] they have strong teeth. Then he fished with green maize, and the fish were transformed into Tukuna Indians: because of this [the maize bait?] they have teeth of poor resistance. Afterward he tried in vain for a long time to angle for his brother. At last, giving the hook to töčariui, he said: "See if you can take out your lover!" ipi at once seized the hook, allowing himself to be pulled ashore, where he resumed his former shape. dyoi' then handed him the hook in order that he also should catch his people. ipi, however, killed all the fish he caught, before they had time to become people. dyoi' had to instruct him how to proceed, and then ipi with sweet manioc bait caught the Kokáma and the other tribes of the Peruvian Amazon. Finally dyoi' made Negroes from the rest of the genipapo.

Clan Recognition

A great number of these first people caught by dyoi' and e'pi were jumbled about without distinction. But dyoi' separated them, putting his to the east and e'pi's to the west. Then he ordered

[825] [*] The name e'pi is also applied to a small fish with a golden spot on its head.

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that a jacurarú be cooked, and compelled everyone to taste the broth. Thus each one became aware of the clan to which he belonged. Afterward dyoi' ordered the members of the two groups to marry between themselves. 539

According to another version, a pot with jacuruxy stew was sent from the upper world by ta-ë' for the purpose of differentiating the clans.

The Origin of Languages

The first man caught by dyoi' was dɔvɨ'. After communication with the upper world was interrupted [see the following tale] he tried to reëstablish it. He called together all the men for a work party in order to pile up earth so that from the top one could reach the upper world. For the feeding of all these people dɔvɨ' had only two hummingbird eggs. The mountain of earth had already reached an enormous height when a certain nyë'kaeʔa stole the two eggs and ate them himself. At once no one could understand the speech of his fellows.

When dɔvɨ' discovered the theft and demanded in a loud voice who the thief was, no one understood him, and all cried out in different tongues. At the same time, the mountain of earth subsided, forming the various mountains that still exist today. Because of the lack of understanding among themselves, the men could not undertake the task again, and the tribes left, each in a different direction. dɔvɨ' remained at the spot with the Tukuna, becoming their first chief.

dyoi' Steals Fire

tɔpe'tʃne, dyoi''s grandmother [see p. 122] had a foster son whose face and body were all covered with warts, for which reason they called him bɛ̨ĕi-natʃ ["Father of Warts"]. dyoi' could not stand him and mocked him incessantly. For this reason tɔpe'tʃne took bɛ̨ĕi-natʃ and moved to the upper world, which was still linked to earth by a notched-log ladder by which men could climb and descend at will.

Only tɔpe'tʃne possessed fire. She took it with her to the upper world, and on earth there was none. dyoi' resolved to steal it. While the Father of Warts was sleeping in a partitioned space, dyoi' assumed his shape, pretended to be very cold, and asked tɔpe'tʃne to let him get warm at her fire. She consented, and as soon as she had gone out for some task, dyoi' went to fetch the Father of Warts from his compartment. He waited until a great chunk of kindling was well ablaze, seized it, dealt the Father of Warts a blow in the belly, and fled with the fire. It was some time before the victim was able to call his foster mother. When she learned what had happened, she hunted for the ax in order to cut the log ladder leading to the earth, but, since she could not find the tool at once, dyoi' had already reached the earth with his firebrand by the time she finally succeeded in cutting the lianas securing the ladder.

According to another version, dyoi' himself destroyed the ladder because he saw that many people preferred the upper world and were migrating there. "Why do you want to move to the upper world? Your place is here on earth!" he said, and ordered the ladder destroyed. dyoi' also invented the friction fire sticks of *cupú do matto* wood. [773]

Still another version of the origin of fire is found in the following legend.

The Acquisition of Cultivated Plants

An old woman lived alone and far away from other people. She had a hard time of it, since the Indians of that period did not yet know of sweet manioc. One day she observed some saúva ants carrying a white substance. She took a piece and smelled it. "What an agreeable smell!" she said. She followed the ants until she came to the edge of a pool in the igarapé, where on the bank was a large tree bearing all kinds of sweet manioc fruits. These fell into the water, where they got softened.

She took a piece, placed it in her armpit, and dried it by her own body heat. Afterward she tried the dried substance and liked it. She gathered a large quantity, dried it in the sun, and took it

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539 home. One day her grandchildren came to visit her and ate of it. They thought it delicious and asked their grandmother where she had got it. However, the old woman would not tell them; when they persisted, she only answered that it was a present from ta-ɨ'. She had a crony, the nocturnal swallow [bacurão], which had fire in its beak. The two no longer dried the sweet manioc in their armpits or in the sun, but secretly made fire and baked manioc flat cakes in the oven. Everyone who had a chance to try these found them excellent, but when people inquired about their preparation, the old woman merely answered that they were baked in the sun. When the swallow heard this lie from the old woman, she could not resist laughing, and the flames burst from her mouth. Seeing this, some of those present thought: "Has she fire in her mouth?"

One day a boy noticed the old woman take fire from the night swallow's mouth and light the fire under the oven. When he told the others this, they decided to take the fire away from the swallow, bacurão. But she, seeing so many people coming, quickly removed all the fire from under the oven and placed it in her mouth, which she stubbornly refused to open. Finally, the men pried open her beak by force and removed the fire. This is why swallows have such gaping beaks.

However, they still did not know where the sweet manioc came from. At last one man secretly followed the old woman and saw the tree bearing the fruit. Back at the house, he again asked the old woman whence the substance came; when she refused to tell, he informed her that he already knew where she got it and from which tree it was. He took the others to the spot, and they not only picked all the fruit but dug up all the roots as well. The tree died and fell, and no one had sweet manioc thereafter.

The deer had been coming to the tree, had seen what the men were doing, and had broken off branches of all kinds with slips, which he kept covered in his basket. dyɔi' and his companions were fishing with timbó in the igarapé when the deer came by; slung from his body was his covered basket, which he never let out of his sight. A little way off he sat down and ate. As soon as he had finished and gone away, dyɔi' went to examine the spot, where he found several bits of sweet manioc, yams, and potatoes. He tried them and thought highly of the deer's food.

Then he shouted behind him, "We are going home now! Don't you want to gather the fish we have left in the water?" and pretended to leave with his companions. But he returned secretly and transformed himself into a tree by the riverbank, extending his arms as branches over the surface of the water.

The deer came, saw that many dead fish still remained in the igarapé, and entered the water. But his covered basket hindered him, so he finally hung it on one of the branches overhanging the igarapé. dyɔi' made the dead fish float downstream with the current and, when the deer went after them, seized the basket and made off with it. The deer, seeing this, cried, "So it was dyɔi''s arm? Well, I'll help you anyway! Plant in a new clearing!"

dyɔi' took the basket to his companions. Opening it, they found that the top was full of a quantity of sweet manioc and yam tubers, and potatoes, and below this they found the slips and seeds of all cultivated plants. They ate the tubers and planted the slips and seeds according to the deer's instructions.

The Acquisition of the Stone Ax

A benign spirit in human form named tuʃ"ta owned the stone ax, with which he used to knock on tree roots (sapopemas) at night. "With what is he knocking?" pondered dyɔi'. He followed tuʃ"ta until he came to a patch of second growth, where a wild-chocolate tree [cupú], bearing fruit was standing. dyɔi' took the shape of a cupú fruit beneath the tree. tuʃ"ta came and, seeing the fruit, said, "There is my wild chocolate!" He seized it, but the fruit bit his finger and would not let go. The spirit realized that he had been tricked, and cried, "Let me go, dyɔi'!" "No, I won't!" dyɔi' answered. "Release me!" "Only if you give me the stone ax!" "No, you shan't have it! Let me go!" "Only if you give me the stone ax!"

Thus the two bickered for some time, until at last dyɔi' exerted more pressure on the finger, forcing the spirit to give him the ax. dyɔi' seized it with both hands, released tuʃ"ta's finger, and fled, hotly pursued by the spirit. They arrived at a large kapok tree, around which dyɔi' began to dash in a circle, relentlessly followed by the spirit, until the latter grew tired and dyɔi' escaped. "Give me my ax!" howled tuʃ"ta behind him. "No, I'll not give it back!" answered dyɔi', already away. tuʃ"ta made another stone ax; even today one may occasionally hear him beating on tree roots with it.

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dyɔi' Imprisons the Child-eating Jaguar

The jaguar pɛti' had already killed many children. As soon as he would hear a wailing child, who had been left alone by its parents, he would take the form of the child's mother and carry it away, saying, "Put your nose directly against my anus!" Then he would kill the child by breaking wind and would devour it. dyɔi' assumed the shape of a child. With his carrying sling [tipoia] over his arm, he stationed himself by the side of the path and wept. pɛti' arrived, took him on his back, and told him to place his nose directly against the anus; dyɔi', however, placed it to one side. The jaguar broke wind repeatedly, but in vain. Each time he ran faster and faster. When he passed a house the inhabitants cried out, "Where are you going with ta-na'tɨ [Our Father]?" Then pɛti' realized with whom he was dealing and begged him to dismount, but dyɔi' would not. pɛti' ran again. He entered the underworld through a mountain cavern, constantly begging dyɔi' to let him go free.

dyɔi' ordered pɛti' to return to the place where they had met. At that place there was a muirapiranga tree that had a smooth hole in its trunk. Through this, dyɔi' thrust both of the jaguar's arms and secured them firmly. From the other side of the trunk pɛti' grabbed his dance tube of bamboo[a] with both hands and began to sing. He called for the bat to come and wipe his breech. Other demons of the Jaguar clan arrived and gave him food. At times even today one may hear their racket in a place called naimɨ'kɨ, on the left bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in a patch of second growth next to the abandoned *fazenda* of the Tukuna Tiberio Tuyuca.

baia' (dyɔi') and the ɓa'ɛ̈ Demons

baia' went hunting, leaving his wife and three children at home. A ba'ɛ̈ demon came along, carrying arara tucupy fruits, and passed the house. When the woman saw him, she thought, "If he would only give me those fruits!" The ba'ɛ̈ read her thoughts at once and asked her to lie with him. Observing that he had no penis, the woman thought, "What in the world can he want with me?" Again the ba'ɛ̈ divined her thoughts and, stepping to one side, shouted, "nyɔni'hɛ nyɔpenai'hɛ u:!" And at once his penis appeared, which was this long [1 m.] and this thick [a handbreadth]. The woman died of the intercourse. The ba'ɛ̈ devoured her and threw the bones to the edge of the clearing; only her empty skin remained.

The ba'ɛ̈'s sister arrived. The demon ordered her to sit by the side of the door and covered her with the dead woman's skin. Then he went away; but not very far from the house he climbed a tree from which he could see anyone passing by. baia''s eldest son, who had seen everything, went to meet his father on the path; however, the latter already knew what had taken place. With his blowgun he went to the tree in which the ba'ɛ̈ was sitting and shot one poisoned dart after another at him, but the demon only murmured, "itɨkɛ na'i nu'u'!" ["How many deer flies!"]

Then baia' uttered a magic formula beneath his breath, so that the demon would let slip the secret of how to kill him, and in fact the ba'ɛ̈ did say, "Don't you know how I may be killed? The white mould on açahy fruits will kill me at once!" baia' went to search for açahy fruits, tipping his darts with their white mould; then he again shot and struck the ba'ɛ̈'s foot. At once the foot began to melt like hot resin, then the leg, and then the other leg, the body also, and the arms. The pieces dripped down to the ground, and the ba'ɛ̈ said each time, "There goes my foot! There goes my leg!" and so on. Finally, his head also melted.

baia' returned to his house and asked the woman [the ba'ɛ̈'s sister], "Your relatives are numerous?" "Yes," she replied. "What is the drink that they like best?" "They like a drink made of wild-chocolate fruits." Then baia' said, "Wild chocolate!" and at once a great quantity of this fruit appeared.

The woman broke up the fruits and filled the jars with the beverage. Afterward he ordered her to go invite all her kin, and they arrived late that afternoon. They had human shape, but large faces and thick noses. They drank and got drunk. After midnight, baia' ordered the woman to take his youngest son to the plantation and pluck his hair, but told her to pluck the hairs out one by one.

As soon as she had gone, baia' told his two older boys to thrust their blowguns through the wall, and shut the house. Then he transported himself through the air to the place in the east where the

[a] Ceremonial object of the Jaguar clan, a thick section of bamboo 3 m. long. See p. 45.

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539 sun rises and the ground glows with embers. Taking a bit of the incandescent substance, he returned to the house shortly before dawn. He threw the fire into the house, which at once burst into flames, while his two sons escaped through the bore of their blowguns. With the coming of daylight, the house and all the ba'ë in it were a heap of ashes. Then baia' stamped his foot on the ground, and at once the house reappeared in its old location as it was before.

Meanwhile, the ba'ë woman in the plantation was plucking the hairs of baia''s son, one at a time. She repeatedly tried to suck out the child's brain through the now bald spot, but baia' had foreseen this and had magically hardened the boy's skull. At last she finished her task and returned with the child to the house. When she arrived, she found no trace of the ba'ë. "Where are my relatives?" she inquired. "They finished all the drink and have gone off," replied baia', and ordered her to sweep the house. The woman began to sweep, and soon found a charred hand in a corner. "Is this not a hand of my brother?" she asked. "No," answered baia', "it is the paw of a barrigudo monkey!" Then he ordered her to wash the jars, but compelled her to fetch the water first in a strainer, then in a burden basket. At last he made a large burden basket waterproof by lining it with resin and attached a tumpline of thin tucum fiber to it. "My deceased wife," he informed the woman, "did not suspend the line from her forehead but from round her neck!" The woman followed his advice, but when she returned with the heavy basket, filled with water, the cord was almost cutting through her neck. "Help me take off this basket!" she cried. "Just stand it one more instant!" replied baia', stepping behind her and jerking the cord, which cut through her neck. Her head fell to the ground.

baia' transformed himself into a deer and fled, pursued by the head. He arrived at a steep slope on the edge of which there was a termites' nest, which he knocked over. It rolled down the bank while he sprang to one side and concealed himself. Hearing the noise of the rolling termites' nest, the head pursued it, thinking it was baia', and finally came to a halt beside it, all the while looking about attentively. baia' returned to the woman's body and saw that the severed neck had already grown to a finger's width. Two days later the base of the skull had formed again. Other ba'ë visited the headless body and fed it through the severed neck.

Then baia' again transported himself to the east to bring more of the red-hot sun mass. On his return, he tied *caiaué* palm [*Elaeis melanococca*, Gaertn.] fibers over his genitals, because all the ba'ë have very thick hair on their pubes. Perceiving his approach, the body inquired: "Are you a relative of mine?" "Yes!" "Then let me touch you!" She touched him and was convinced that it was really a ba'ë who had arrived. "Open your neck! I want to feed you!" commanded baia', but as soon as she opened her gullet, he threw in some of the fiery substance, and her entire body went up in flames. With the rest of the incandescent stuff, baia' went to where the head lay. It had already grown a new neck and shoulders. Transformed into a small bird [pore'nü, see p. 38], he flew directly above the head, which was attentively glancing about, and let fall upon it the fiery substance, the incandescent sun-mass, that he held in his claws. The head of the ba'ë woman was instantly consumed by the flames.

baia' went to search for the bones of his wife, killed by the ba'ë, recomposed them, and stamped his foot on the ground, whereupon the woman was revived and cried out: "My husband! You have frightened me!" Henceforth they lived together again.

Two other informants gave me the name of these ba'ë as ɣ'kai (see pp. 126, 128).

dyɔi' Transforms Deer and Anteater

In ancient times the deer was a man-eating jaguar. In order to stop his depredations, dyɔi' gave him a punch under the jaw that knocked the ascending rami through the top of his skull, where they appeared as antlers. Since then the deer has been inoffensive.

Another dangerous animal in the old days was the anteater, mambira [*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*; T., ɔ:'rëva]. He was as agile as a barrigudo monkey in climbing and skipping about the tree limbs, so that no one could deal with him, even when he attacked and ate people.

dyɔi' captured the anteater, broke the creature's paws backward, and, rubbing its muzzle between the palms of his hands, squeezed it so that it became long and slender with only a tiny opening. Then he ordered the anteater to eat termites.

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dyoi' Paints the Uariciána

dyoi' had invented the uariciána of paxiubinha wood for the hair-plucking festival of the boy Tyku-kira', painting it red with carajurú [*Arrabidea chica*]. One of the immortal companions, I don't know which, criticised the painting. "How should I paint it, then?" asked dyoi'. The other explained, "At the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there is a high bank with clays of all colors. It is soft, but you must not touch it with your hands; remove it by thrusting your blowgun into it so that the clay sticks in the bore!"

That very evening the two transported themselves to the spot mentioned, where dyoi' thrust his blowgun into all the clays of different colors, each time to the depth of a handbreadth. On returning home, he reamed the clay out with a cleaning rod, and then painted the uariciána anew.

The taboo which surrounds this instrument is concentrated in the appearance of this paint."[1]

The Present Status of dyoi' and e'pi

At last dyoi' and e'pi decided to part, and so they went away—dyoi' to the west and e'pi to the east. But dyoi' could not readily find the west, and at night he secretly reversed the earth so that e'pi remained in the west, while he himself remained in the east. No one ever saw dyoi' again.

A long time ago a Tukuna journeyed to the rising sun, where he arrived at dyoi''s house. He entered but did not succeed in seeing dyoi'. Wherever he looked he saw only his own image, because the walls of the house were made of mirrors. dyoi' sent word for him to go back, since he did not want to see him nor did he wish to be sought out.

Probably this tale has as its underlying basis the visit of some Indian in the mirrored salon of some governmental palace where he was denied the audience requested of the governor.

Version collected in 1929.—In connection with the tale related above "Captain" Felix in 1929 brought to my attention the following episode.

Later, the two brothers began to quarrel and argue over the division of the world, disputing which of them should receive the east and which the west. ipi demanded absolutely that he should go down the Solimões (east) and left for that region with his followers; but while he slept, dyoi' turned the world about so that ipi and his people remained in the west, whereas dyoi' and his people remained in the east, as he had wished. dyoi' lives in the land of the rising sun, beyond the the sea, in a place called mu'ruapi. ngutapa and tëčariui are with him, also, but no mortal can ever reach there. In ancient times a few came close enough to see mu'ruapi from afar, but when they came nearer, everything turned into flowering bushes.

On the left bank of the upper Igarapé de São Jeronymo, almost two days' canoe trip above the farthest Tukuna settlement, there is a very old plantation. Calixto daueru'kị used to call this place bu-ë (from bu, child) because it was believed to have once been the dwelling of ṅu'/tapa, where dyoi', e'pi, and their sisters appeared in this world. Generally, however, the Tukuna call this plantation taivegị'ne, which was the name of dyoi''s house. According to the Tukuna, one may still see there the remains of very ancient posts belonging to the house and to the fence with the platform upon which the brothers waited for the jaguar that had devoured ṅu'/tapa.

The place where the two caught the giant caiman was also pointed out to me. Not far above this spot the Igarapé vorë-kị ("Girl Creek") empties from the right. There in ancient times the celebrants of a puberty ceremony once took the virgin to her bath after the depilation, as was the custom. When she dived into the

[1] See legend, "to'ëna and the Breaking of the Uariciána Taboo."

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773 shallow water she disappeared forever without a trace. No one ever learned what
778 became of her; undoubtedly the immortals carried her off.

Another girl, at the close of her puberty celebration, declared that she wished to move away from where her parents lived because there she felt a weight pressing on her head. They moved with her to a mountain range where they entered the underworld, but the girl declared that that did not suit her either. Accordingly, they left for dyɔi''s abandoned plantation and entered the house through the floor, just as if they were crawling in beneath a mosquito bar. The girl thought it pretty and asserted that she was satisfied since she no longer felt the weight on her head. She is still there today with her festive companions.

Below taivegi'ne there also empties from the right the Igarapé ë'varë. At its source stands e'pi's house, which bears the name of dë'i. There tɛku-kira', son of e'pi, still lives today in the company of many other immortals. Sometimes on a night of full moon one may hear, very far off but yet clearly, the sounds of their merrymaking, but no one ever succeeds in reaching the place. An old Tukuna named Miguel, who for many years was the last inhabitant of Igarapé de São Jeronymo, attempted it once, but in vain. After Miguel another Indian I knew, Cazemiro, tried it again but got drunk, lost his bearings, and finally returned. The Indians are convinced that the immortals will punish with madness anyone who dares to break the taboo of this creek. They believe that dyɔi' and e'pi left the hook, with which they angled for the first men, in the water back at the mouth of the ë'varë; there it was transformed into snakes and rays which guard the entrance. The mouth is now overgrown with vegetation.

The Origin of Old Age and Death

773 This first race of men which dyɔi' and e'pi fished for is called ma:'/gita (from ma:'gi, "to throw something from the tip of an elastic wand," and ta, plural suffix) or ii'ne (the immortals). They do not die as we do; their descendants, the yuna'ti (mortals), however, live even today in an enchanted state in the region where they were created, or far away to the east with dyɔi'.

539 The difference [between the immortals and mortal men] arose in ancient times through the error of a girl who was in seclusion for her puberty festival at the time when dyɔi', in the company of the immortals, called for everyone to follow him. The girl did not answer, but shortly after, when the spirit dya: [Old Age] was announcing his coming with shouts of "Vavi'-vavi'-vavi'! eu"i" dya: u:!" she responded, "May dya: come!" dya: entered her cell and, pulling at his hair, stripped off his own skin. Then he took off the girl's skin in the same way and exchanged them. He himself was transformed into a youth, and went off, whistling on his fingers. The girl remained an old, decrepit woman, without strength even to stand up.

Very early in the morning her mother called her, "Daughter! Sweep your cell!" She obeyed, sitting on the floor and slowly pushing before her the açahy-leaf container holding the rubbish. The mother urged her to hurry and finish the chore before the inhabitants of the house should awaken. At last the mother peered into the little room and saw in place of the girl an old crone with a wrinkled skin. The festival was called off, and since then men grow old and die.

There is another story of a vərë-ki who responds to the immortals' call:

The Origin of the Lunar Aureole

A virgin was in her seclusion cell. Suddenly, she heard immortals entering the house, walking without touching the ground with their feet, and calling, "Vavi'-vavi'-vavi'! eu"i" ii'ne u:!" She

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immediately answered that she wished to become immortal also. Her puberty festival was being celebrated simultaneously with a child's hair-plucking ceremony. Among the guests was also a girl betrothed to mëta'rë.[a] However, she disliked him because he would eat only tree fungi (orelhas de pau). She was enamored of i[w]/tavečine[a] and chased after him wherever he went. 539

The host called everyone inside to witness the beginning of the virgin's depilation. Only i[w]/tavečine and his paramour remained outside, painting each other with genipapo dye. She merely entered the house for an instant, drank some paiauarú, and rejoined her lover. mëta'rë, standing next to the jars containing the beverage, saw her, and said under her breath, "You may go!" The vərëkị' and the other celebrants were seated on top of the tapir hide in the center of the house. The turtleshell drum was sounding, and the guests were dancing. Suddenly the tapir hide began to move, rising into the air. mëta'rë climbed up on the roof to reach it also, but he was too late.

The two lovers outside noticed nothing of what was taking place until suddenly the girl said to i[w]/tavečine, "Listen! The drums are sounding up above!" Lifting her eyes, she saw the celebrants of the festival on the tapir hide already far up in the sky. Weeping, she called to her mother and brothers, who were also on the hide. The brothers threw her the end of a thin liana with a transverse piece of wood lashed to it, commanding her to put her feet on this and hold the liana with her eyes shut. She obeyed, and they began to pull her up to join them. There was only a short distance to go to reach the hide, when she opened her eyes and, seeing how thin the liana was, exclaimed, "The liana is going to break!" Instantly it broke, and she fell to the ground, at once turning into a bird called mai'yu, and flying away to cry forever "mai'! mai'!" ("Brother.") Even today she may be heard thus calling her brother. i[w]/tavečine also was transformed into a small hawk, and flew off.

mëta'rë broke the jars, and the paiauarú, which was full of worms, spilled upon the ground. Ants and all other creatures that shed their skins licked it up, and for this reason they never grow old. Afterward, mëta'rë turned into a bird [japú] and flew after the others to the upper world. The tapir hide and the celebrants of the festival seated upon it may still be seen today when the moon has a ring around it.[a]

According to another version the lovers and the guests at the festival are visible in the Pleiades. 773 [821]

In the old days whoever wished to become immortal submitted to a diet of maize and Coleoptera larvae and, when he bathed, rubbed his entire body with burity fruits. Then one day in the jungle he would meet an unknown boy who would bid him prepare for a feast on such and such a day. On the appointed day, in the afternoon, aquatic birds of all species would appear and perch in the trees near the house. At nightfall the dance would begin inside the sealed house. Some time later an immortal in human form would knock at the door. They must let him enter and conduct him to the jars, where he would give the host a small gourd containing the immortals' drink, yita'kị čịị, which must be mixed in with the festive beer (chicha), because to become one of the immortals one must partake of their beverage.

At dawn all the immortals would enter, dance, drink, and choose consorts, the unmarried mortals doing the same; sometimes even married couples would separate in order to join the immortals. At daybreak the spirits, while dancing, would conduct all the celebrants outside the house, and after some fifteen paces would command them to close their eyes. When they opened them again, they would already be far away in the abode of the immortals.

[a] Identified in the lingua geral with Jaboti or Tortoise of the legends.
[a] A small, red-legged falconid which feeds on small birds.
[a] Other exploits of mëta'rë are related in the legends, "mëta'rë and ə'vịkịna," "mëta'rë and vai'čí'kị," and "mëta'rë and tu'čuru." [136]

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A typical episode is related in the following legend.[a]

dyuˢ-a'čikị

The wife of dyuˢ-a'čikị died. Then he went to look for the immortals. The people went to see his dwelling; they searched for him. He saw them. At once this irritated him. He went to another place. There he made another plantation. Then his daughter attained puberty. He constructed her seclusion cell and left her there.

Then a small bird appeared before her. He held [in his beak] a grain of maize. She tried in vain to take it from him; he did not give it to her. She told her father. "Hold your tongue, dear one," he said. "This is an immortal!" Then the immortal again appeared. He gave her the grain of maize. The father planted it. His maize ripened. Then he began his [daughter's] puberty festival. He concluded it. He alone removed her [from seclusion] and sang with her. "Oh, what did you do, dear one," he said to his daughter, "that he [the immortal] gives no sign?" Then dyuˢ-a'čikị grew very tired. He fell asleep. The daughter sat next to him in the hammock. Then, in spite of himself, dyuˢ-a'čikị was awakened by those [the immortals] who had already entered. This made him really very happy. He looked at his daughter; she was already seated in the hammock with her husband.

Then he called everyone. They led her outside and round the house. They they reëntered. They gave dyuˢ-a'čikị a wife [immortal]. Then they took them [outside]. They made them close their eyes. When they looked [again] they were already in a different land [that is, the immortals' country].

According to this version the miracle was accomplished because the immortals' maize brought by the little bird and planted by dyuˢ-a'čikị was mixed with the ordinary maize from which he made the festive beer (chicha) that he and his daughter drank.

The Girl Carried Away by the Immortal

The puberty festival was drawing to a close. The virgin's uncle, his wife, and several women of related clans led her to the river for her bath, but the uncle was then so drunk that he could no longer perform the ceremony properly. His wife was still at the girl's side when a youth appeared in the form of a tapir. He was one of the immortals who had remained in the vicinity of the ancient dwelling of dyəi' after dyəi' had left with his companions. He carried off the girl and married her.

Much later she reappeared to her mother in the plantation. She brought her son with her in a carrying sling. She told her mother that she had been living among the immortals and asked if her mother would brew an especially strong drink (paiauaré) for the hair-plucking ceremony of her younger brother. Her parents complied with her wishes, and she came to the celebration with her husband. He brought a little of the immortals' beverage. He filled a tiny gourd and gave each of the celebrants a sip. All got drunk and in this condition went away with the married couple to the dwelling of the immortals in Igarapé ə̃varə̃.

Messianic Movements

Messianic movements are based collectively on four principal features of Tukuna religion: (1) the personality of dyəi', the creator and founder of tribal culture; (2) the feeling of having offended him by the corruption of the primitive spiritual (not material!) culture owing to influences of civilization; (3) the possibility of the repetition of the cataclysms of ancient times; (4) the existence of the immortals and their tendency to appear to persons at the age of puberty.

[a] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text.

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X. VARIOUS LEGENDS

Legends of Cataclysms

773 The belief in dyoi', e'pi, and the immortals is in a way associated with the idea of cataclysms, past and future, and of the Mountains of Salvation, vaipĵ' or pa:'ru.

World Fire and Deluge

539 This happened after dyoi' and his companions had left for the east. The earth began to move in the west, and at once men began to die. Fire burst forth from the ground and came steadily nearer; one could hear its roaring. The immortals, and with them those who had answered their call, thus becoming immortal, left for Mount vaipĵ', which they say is below Manáos, I don't know exactly where. The slopes of this mountain constantly drip water [na-vu'i, it is wet], so the world fire did not reach it.

In the west a girl with her little sister had been left alone in the seclusion cell. When the earth moved, only their room stayed firm, and, while all the others lay dying, the two sisters remained alive. They climbed a tall genipapo tree at the edge of the house yard, covering their faces with wild-chocolate hulls to protect them from the smoke. When they removed the hulls a little, they saw all around them the charred trees of the once-virgin jungle sinking below the earth, which had become completely soft.

In the immediate vicinity of the house, however, everything remained as it had been. Finally the fire burned out. For months the two sisters ate maize that had been stored in the house. Then the *camapú* [*Physalis* sp.] began to appear and produced fruit at the edge of the clearing; the two sisters gathered and ate the berries. While thus engaged, the younger sister went too far astray and sank beneath the still-soft earth; behind her, flames and smoke sprang up. The elder sister was now all alone and wept despondently. Then she heard a noise: it was the water, which, bursting forth from the ground and rapidly increasing, flooded everything.

A large blue butterfly [*Morpho menelaus*] came to the girl, saying that surely she must also die now. But, through magic he made the girl's body light[1] and then ordered her to hold on to his abdomen while he attempted to fly with her. But she failed to do so, and the flood was already entering the house. Then the butterfly commanded the girl, painted red with urucú, to imitate the motions of the dragonfly in flight; and so with the butterfly's assistance she at last managed to fly away and escape to where dyoi' lived. When the deluge reached Mount vaipĵ', the mountain, with the immortals' dwelling on its top, grew in height so that they were preserved from the waters.

The Deluge

An Indian once owned a dog. One day the animal began to speak in the human language, saying that there would be a great flood; that he, the dog, was going to Mount vaipĵ' and his master had better accompany him if he wished to save himself. The master, however, did not wish to go, for he did not know where the dog was going to lead him. Then the animal advised him to have a great canoe ready to save himself and his family in the hour of the flood. So saying, the dog departed for vaipĵ'.

The waters burst boiling out of the earth and flooded the entire surface. The Indian and his family embarked in the canoe that had been prepared and moored to a tree by a very long liana. However, the waters steadily rose, and the current pulled the canoe this way and that, so that they were obliged to lengthen the liana repeatedly and had by then long lost track of where they were. But finally they landed on Mount vaipĵ', where they remained until the waters subsided. They abandoned their canoe on the mountain—where, it is said, it may still be seen today—and, guided by the lengthened vine, returned to their former home.

773 177 The canoe on Mount vaipĵ' is obviously an element from Christian mythology and apparently is the only Christian motif in the Tukuna cataclysmic mythology.

[1] See the legend of čimĵdyoĩ', pp. 148 ff.

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since even the dove motif, which so easily penetrates foreign mythologies, is not found in the Tukuna legends. 773 [177]

Legends of Celestial Bodies and Related Phenomena

The sun.—The slight importance the Indians attach to celestial bodies is worthy of note. Of the sun they told me that it was hot to the point of charring anyone who approached it, and that its headdress was a crown of red macaw tail feathers similar to that used today by a virgin at her puberty festival. I have seen the sun represented in this fashion three times, by a mask with a face carved in wood and with human, not demoniacal, features. There is a legend called "The Canoe of the Sun" (ɟakɟ'-ve'i-ṅ), but, try as I might, I did not succeed in recording more than a fragment. There is no longer anyone who can recite the entire story. 773 821

The Canoe of the Sun

A solitary youth was fishing when the Sun arrived in a canoe and asked him if he had caught anything. The boy answering in the negative, the Sun invited him to join him, since they should have caught something by this time. The youth sat in the prow while the Sun steered. The Sun asked him which was the "pathway of the Sun." Thus the youth realized that he was in the Sun's company, although the Sun had made the boy insensible to the heat. They paddled along. The boy thought that they were still paddling down here [on the earth] but they were already up there [in the sky]. A pirarucú this long [1 m.] appeared. The Sun seized the fish, threw it into the canoe, and baked it with his heat. 539

Some time later they halted in order to eat lunch in the canoe. The youth finished his share first. The Sun invited him to eat more, but the boy was obliged to decline with thanks. The Sun ordered him to bend his head forward, and then slapped him on the back of the head. At once a great number of cockroaches fell out of the boy. "That was the reason that you felt stuffed," said the Sun. The boy regained his appetite. They ate the entire fish. The Sun collected the scales and bones, put the fish together again, and threw it alive into the water.

The shaman Geraldo sent the soul of the murdered sorcerer ʊ'iru to the "Canoe of the Sun" to be burned. [775]

The moon and stars.—Lunar eclipses are caused by the moon's meeting the demon vẹ"kɟča of the Jaguar clan, who battles with her. The word "vẹ"kɟča" is used for a hook made of a special wood in the form of an N, from which household implements (especially kitchen utensils) are suspended. The vẹ"kɟča of the heavens is Orion. The story of the terrestrial vẹ"kɟča and the incident which justifies his name of "hook" is related in the legend of čimɟdyuẽ' (pp. 148 ff.). If the jaguar in the eclipse should kill the moon, mankind would die; for this reason it is necessary that people aid the moon, scaring away her adversary with as much noise as possible. 821 773 789

I myself witnessed an attempt of this sort during the eclipse of August 25 and 26, 1942. As soon as the Indians were aware of the phenomenon—directly after the eclipse began—an alarm broke out that spread from house to house, up and down the igarapé, reaching to the inhabitants of the banks of the Solimões. Some beat with paddles on the keels of overturned, beached canoes; others belabored with the backs of their machetes a large plank resting on a support; others shot off firearms. Nino ẹvẽnɟ"kɟ, in whose house I was staying, seriously explained to his children what was taking place. The noise continued until the moon was completely free of the earth's shadow.

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The Spots on the Moon

539 In one of the large malocas in the old days there lived, among other persons, a boy with his sister. At night the youth secretly crept to his sister's hammock and had intercourse with her. [The houses were tightly sealed at night because of mosquitoes and therefore were completely dark.] She slept so soundly that she was unaware of anything; only in the morning did she realize what had happened because her sexual organs were moist. The following night she tried to stay awake, but failed, and the same thing happened to her as on the preceding night. At last she

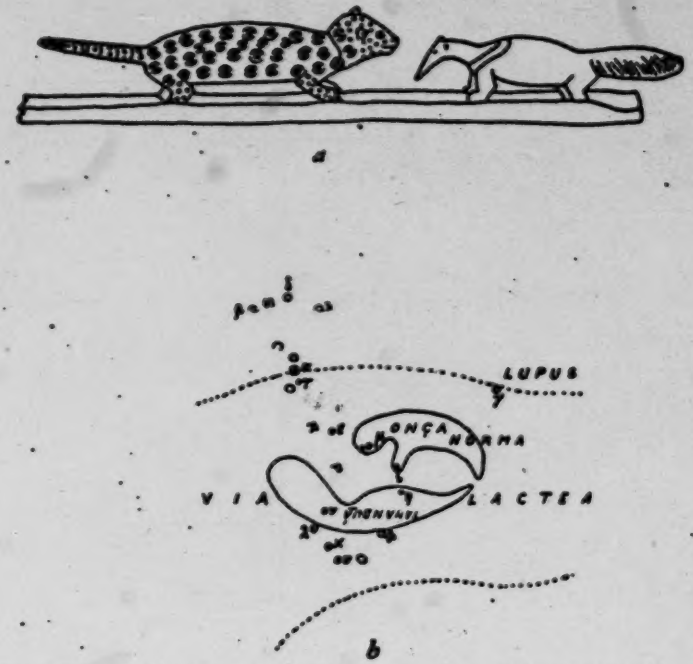

Fig. 13. Jaguar and anteater. *a*. Carved figures on a dance staff, × ⅞. *b*. Constellation.

became pregnant and had a son. As was the custom, she grated genipapo to paint the child black, and at night placed the pot containing the dye next to her hammock.

When in the darkness her brother came again to lie with her, she thrust her hand into the dye and rubbed it over his face. He recognized the genipapo from its odor and immediately made off to the edge of the jungle, where he picked leaves to wipe his face. As soon as he threw away a soiled leaf it turned into a forest turkey, an *anum* [*Crotophaga minor*, Gm.], or some other black-colored bird. Then he went to the creek and washed his face. For this reason the Igarapé de São Jeronymo is black even to this day. He was never again seen by anyone, but went up to the sky, where he became the moon.

Jaguar and Anteater

The jaguar once met the great banded anteater [*tamandúa bandeira*] and said, "My strength is in my teeth and claws. Where is yours?" Replied the anteater, "In my arms and claws." "And where is your heart?" again inquired the jaguar. "In my arm," was the reply. The two fought.

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The jaguar bit and clawed the anteater's arm, but the latter did not die of the wounds. "Are you sure that your heart is in your arm?" asked the jaguar finally. "Certainly," answered the anteater, "and where is your heart?" "In my breast," the jaguar admitted. Hearing this, the anteater tore open the jaguar's chest with his claws and killed him. Then with his long tongue he sucked out the jaguar's liver.

On clear nights one may still see starred in the sky the fight between the two, and the anteater's final victory. The bodies of the two contestants are formed by two black rifts ("Coalsack") in the Milky Way, in the constellations of Scorpius and the Southern Cross. The double star of the first forms the jaguar's eyes. When the constellation becomes visible, the anteater is lying on its back, while the jaguar is standing over it; afterward the shapes of the two animals rise and, when the constellation sets, the jaguar is on its back under the anteater (fig. 13).

Other beliefs.—The shooting stars are chasing after their sweethearts. It is well not to speak of them, or one might do the same thing. Children should not speak of moving clouds because they might be kidnaped by them. If a cloud in human shape lowers its head toward the observer, that person will soon die.

Legends of Demons and Monsters

The Monster ñaiva'

In the old days, in a battle between the Tukuna and the Omágua near Igarapé do São Jeronymo, an Omágua shaman named ñaiva' was gravely wounded but succeeded in escaping and hid himself beneath the bank. When the other Omágua departed, he was left behind, and he lived for a long time in a subterranean lair called vai'pɨ, the entrance of which was under the water. It had a tall, hollow paxiuba-palm trunk for a chimney, so that no one in the jungle could spot the smoke from his fire. This place was next to an old cemetery on the right bank of the Igarapé do São Jeronymo, just below the mouth of Igarapé a:'ru-pana. When the Tukuna children bathed and played in the creek, ñaiva' would sneak toward them under the water, pierce them with his lance, and carry the children off to his lair to devour them. Once, a man was watching the children bathe; suddenly, in the still water he saw ñaiva' emerge from his cave, kill the children, and drag them inside. He at once called together all the inhabitants of the vicinity. They barred the cave's exit with stakes, and ñaiva' died of starvation in his lair. At first, however, they could hear him screaming, "ku čečɨ'! ku čečɨ'!" ["I shall kill you!"]; then he died. When they opened the cave they found it full of children's bones.

mẽta'rẽ and ɔ'vɨkɨna

The sorcerer dɔ̃'vẽnɔ̃ fed himself by plucking out men's eyes at night and eating them. He also ate the eyes of a woman in the last stages of pregnancy who lived by herself. When the blind woman felt the first pangs of childbirth, ɔ'vɨkɨna heard her screams. ɔ'vɨkɨna had a great number of daughters of all ages, but not one son. She ran to the side of the parturient, without the other woman's being aware of it, and awaited the birth. As soon as the child was born, the sightless mother felt its body and verified that it was a boy. When she laid him down beside her, ɔ'vɨkɨna stole him, substituting her youngest daughter. When the blind woman again picked up her newborn child, she realized that it was a girl and was greatly astonished. ɔ'vɨkɨna carried the boy away. She dropped medicine of the dɔ̃'gɨne plant in his eyes and rubbed him with it. Thus he became immortal and grew up to be very wise.

He was already the size of an ordinary child of seven when, one day, wishing ɔ'vɨkɨna to give him his treatment, he peeped through his fingers, with which she had ordered him to cover his eyes, and saw her behind the house post making gestures as if separating something. She removed from the interior of the post a little pot containing the dɔ̃'gɨne. One of her daughters had already told him that ɔ'vɨkɨna was not his mother and where his real mother could be found. By the same motions ɔ'vɨkɨna had used he managed to open the post also. He removed the little pot, turned

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539 into a bird, a japú, and took the pot to the place where his mother was. He perched on an abiú tree in the house yard and sang. The blind woman thought, "Perhaps the japú has already knocked down some fruit!" and went over under the tree, feeling the ground. The japú sang again, and the blind woman said, "If you were only human, you would knock down some fruit for me!" The japú sang, "Raise your eyes!" The sightless woman lifted her head and he dropped a little of the dë'gɨse medicine into her eye sockets, whereupon she at once regained her sight.

ɔ'vɨkɨna was furious at her daughters when she learned what had happened. She took about ten of them, put them in the mortar [ta:'ta], pounded them up, and threw them into the river. This is the origin of the holes in the clay slope on the left bank of the Solimões, just above the settlement of Santa Rita. Afterward they were transformed into small fish [acarís] and crabs.

mëta'rë and vai'ᵘči'kɨ[1]

Everyone thought vai'ᵘči'kɨ's daughter very pretty. Various men slept with her, for she refused no one, but vai'ᵘči'kɨ always ate his sons-in-law. Finally they put a stop to this. "He will destroy us!" said mëta'rë. "Let him now give to me, too, his daughter in marriage!" And he asked for the daughter of vai'ᵘči'kɨ, who gave her to the suitor, for he refused no one. Happy, vai'ᵘči'kɨ ordered his daughter, "Go, my dear, grind some maize to make pamonhas [maize cakes] for something to eat along the way when I and my son-in-law go tomorrow to gather patauá."

At daybreak the next morning he went with his son-in-law to gather patauá. When they arrived at the foot [of the tree] he ordered mëta'rë to bring back a liana, and said to him, "Do not go there [ahead] because there are many fire ants!" So said vai'ᵘči'kɨ. He assented, but ran off, making a big circle and returning. Then he saw a great place with human bones, the bones of those who had married [vai'ᵘči'kɨ's daughter] first and before him had taken her to wife. mëta'rë ran back and brought the liana. "Go, climb up, my son-in-law!" said vai'ᵘči'kɨ, "and hang the liana round your neck!" mëta'rë climbed up, and he [vai'ᵘči'kɨ] asked several times, "Have you hung the liana round your neck yet?" and mëta'rë always answered, "Yes!"

When he had finally reached a bunch of patauá, vai'ᵘči'kɨ asked him again, "Have you hung the liana round your neck yet?" "Yes!" replied mëta'rë, who had hung it, not from his neck, but from [the top of] his head. Then vai'ᵘči'kɨ jerked the liana [to pull him down from the tree], but mëta'rë, being immortal, crouched [the line slipped off], and [he] flew away in the form of a japú. Like over there [pointing] he perched on a tree limb and sang, "Búruru! [song of the japú] I have you in my sight!" [By the song and his thoughts mëta'rë was enchanting vai'ᵘči'kɨ]. Involuntarily, he [vai'ᵘči'kɨ] looked at his own leg and said, "Oh, if I haven't got something savory here [to eat]!"

He cut himself lightly, then blew, and it [the wound] healed immediately. Again he cut himself lightly. Then he cut all at once and blew, and it healed directly, and he ate [the flesh of his own leg]. Then he eyed his other leg and said, "Oh, if I haven't got something savory here!" Again he cut a piece from the other leg and blew; it healed at once and he ate. Afterward he looked down at his own belly and said, "Oh, if I haven't got something savory here!" He cut off a piece, blew again, and it healed at once. Then he looked at his own belly again and said, "Oh, if I haven't got a maize cake here and nothing to eat with it!" Then he cut out his belly all at once and gobbled it up. Then he tried blowing. In vain, it did not heal.

Then mëta'rë took advantage of the situation and ran to fetch some of the red-hot substance from the sky [p. 133]. He returned and threw the glowing mass on him [vai'ᵘči'kɨ]. He boiled [violently, finishing slowly]. The next day he [mëta'rë] went to look. At the spot there were bamboo sprouts, which he cut. The following day he went back again, and there were more bamboo shoots; again he cut them. At last he spent a whole month constantly cutting bamboo sprouts. Finally, he grew irritated with the never-ending task, and he left off in order to celebrate a feast. On another feast day he went to look; then all the bamboo burst apart in his presence. They burst because the Omágua were there inside them.

mëta'rë and the Bedbug tu'ču ru

mëta'rë married the daughter of the bedbug tu'ču ru, who during the day had human form but at night assumed the shape of a bedbug this big [1 m.], who sucked people. tu'ču ru married off

[1] Literal translation from the original Tukuna text.

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his daughter, but during the night he would kill his sons-in-law. mĩtaʼrõ asked for the daughter in marriage. tuʼũru handed her over, and at night the couple slept together in a hammock in the darkened house. When the girl had fallen asleep, mĩtaʼrõ exchanged his own sexual organs for hers. At midnight tuʼũru stealthily approached the hammock and felt mĩtaʼrõ's genitals. "This is my daughter," he said. "She has a vulva!" Then he felt his daughter's, thinking that this was mĩtaʼrõ; he sat under the hammock and sucked at her. mĩtaʼrõ watched her gradually become more flaccid and empty. 539

Then tuʼũru remained beneath the hammock, so bloated that he could no longer get up. At daybreak he said, "My daughter, get up and hang my son-in-law's skin from the rafter!" Four times he repeated the request, but no one answered. Suspicious, he got up heavily, looked inside the hammock, and realized that he had sucked his own daughter. mĩtaʼrõ, however, turned into a japó, flew up, and sat on the ridgepole of the house. tuʼũru wept for hours over his daughter's death. Then with great effort he climbed up one of the house posts below the roof thatch next to where mĩtaʼrõ was sitting, in order to suck him. He did not succeed, however, since the japó's feet were small and delicate, enabling it to change position easily. Finally mĩtaʼrõ peered through the straw of the roof thatch and put out his [tuʼũru's] eyes. tuʼũru fell; as his belly struck the ground it burst, and he died.[1]

The One-legged Man

Two brothers were hunting in the jungle in order to collect the necessary meat for a feast. They had already a lot of game on the smoking-grill. One day while walking through the forest they came to a cleared spot beneath a tree where there was a leaf container made of ambaky, and in it a quarter of roast pig and a few cooked yams. The first brother passed it by, but the second halted. "Do not touch it!" cried the elder brother. "Surely it must belong to some demon [ãcoʼ]." But the other, letting his brother go forward a few paces, secretly filched a yam and ate it.

"By any chance did you eat the demon's food?" asked his brother. "No," the younger replied, "I only looked at it!" That night they were sleeping in their shelter. Suddenly the one who had rejected the food heard aʼbaʼũ [demon] coming through the jungle, shouting, "Where is my food!" And the yam in the belly of the other, who still slept, cried out, "I am here!" In vain the elder brother tried to wake the younger, who continued to sleep even though he was poked with a blazing resinous torch. Then the elder hid beneath the ridgepole of the shelter. The baʼũ arrived, cut open the door of the shelter with his nails, which were as sharp as knives, and in the same way cut off a leg of the sleeper, threw it over his shoulder, and disappeared.

Only a long time afterward did the sleeper awake, and then he cried, "My brother, the bats have eaten my leg!" "No," answered the first. "It was the owner of the yam that you ate!" He took his brother on his back and carried him through the jungle to a tree called gʼatʃne [Lg., ucuy ?] He salved the wound with the juice of this tree, placed both hands on the tree trunk, and danced all round the tree in this position with his brother on his back, singing "gʼatʃne, make my brother's leg grow again!" Then he carried him to the foot of another gʼatʃne tree, where he repeated the same performance, continuing this treatment for several weeks. The leg slowly began to regenerate and soon had grown to just below the knee.

The elder brother's wife waited vainly at home for the return of her husband and brother-in-law. The date set for the feast had already passed, and they still had not returned. She became exceedingly vexed and finally went into the jungle to search for them. She met her husband with his brother on his back, still dancing round a gʼatʃne tree. Enraged, she pushed him, making him fall with the cripple, for he was very weak from the prolonged effort of dancing. In the fall, the growing leg of the brother, which had not yet become firm, broke. Then the younger brother refused to accompany the couple back to their house. He advised his sister-in-law to plant maize for the feast, because the game which they had collected had already spoiled, and he remained alone in the jungle.

After the feast his brother came to visit him. He made a platform on which he placed the cripple, visiting him from time to time. He noticed that his brother grew smaller each time he came; finally, the latter began to sprout feathers and was transformed into a vɔːʼo [a hawk that

[1] For the final fate of mĩtaʼrõ, see the legend "The Origin of the Lunar Areole," pp. 135–136.

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539 cries at the onset of summer]. When the elder brother again came to visit him, the younger said "Now I shall fly to the mountains of the Lower Amazon! ča/vina vɔ:'ɔ! tɔ-tɔ-tɔ-tɔ vɔ:'ɔ!" ["My sister-in-law, plant! Plant!"]. With this, he rose and flew away.

[173] There are noteworthy differences in the version of this legend given to me in 1929 by "Captain" Felix. The explanation of the mutilation of Orion's leg is quite different from that given me by my informants in 1941 and 1942. (See legend, "The Errors of čim|dyuö'.")

wïkïča (Orion)[4]

Two brothers found themselves deep in the jungle at the foot of a tree where there was a basket containing cooked potatoes. The elder of the two passed it by, but the younger could not resist temptation and ate one of the tubers. That night as they slept, the demon aguri [(?) unknown to my other informants], who owned the basket, came through the jungle shouting, "Where is my potato?" And from the younger brother's stomach came the reply, "I am here!"

The elder brother sprang up and tried to wake the other, but the younger slept as though dead, not even stirring when the former poked him with a blazing firebrand. Then the elder hid in the loft of the shelter, while aguri came and tore off a leg from the sleeping brother, taking it with him to devour. After his departure, the sleeper awoke and, seeing the bloody stump, exclaimed, "Brother, the bats have eaten my leg!" The other answered, "It was not bats but the demon aguri, whose potatoes you ate!"

Then the younger asked his brother to make him a club and, carried on the latter's back, left the shelter. While they were going through the jungle, an agouti ran in front of them, and at once the younger brother asked to be let down. He hopped after the agouti—on one leg only, but just as quickly as he could have done with two—and killed the little creature with his club. He cut off a small piece of meat from the kill, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother. After they had gone on a while, a deer sprang up, which the cripple killed in the same fashion. Again he cut off only a small piece of the game, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother.

When they arrived home, his [the younger brother's] wife was vexed at the smallness of the pieces, but her husband ordered her to erect a huge smoking-grill with a bonfire kindled under it. Then he unwrapped the meat and threw the bits to the woman; instantly they became so large that they completely covered her.

Afterward he ordered that they carry him again to the jungle, where this time he killed a tapir. He waited beside the kill for the buzzards to come, and when they had all gathered, he said to the king of the buzzards, "I killed this game for you, but now you must take me with you to the upper world!" Then the buzzards took him with them to the upper world, where he can still be seen today: wïkïča (Orion).

The Family Transformed into Jaguars

An old man set out with his wife and several other men, I know not whither—I think toward the underworld. The old man taught the others a magical trick: whenever he shot an arrow high into the trunk of a tururi tree,[5] a white strip of bast the breadth of a palm would detach itself and peel down the trunk all the way to the ground. Each person selected a piece, stretched it, and painted it with black spots in imitation of a jaguar's hide, thus making himself a jaguar costume. Putting these costumes on, they turned into jaguars and, as such, coursed through the jungle, killing and eating people; but other Indians discovered the secret and considered how to kill them. Once the old man in jaguar form attacked a group of hunters, but was killed by one of them. His wife overheard them talking about the one who had done the killing, and she resolved to avenge her husband's death. Dressed in her jaguar costume, she pursued the slayer and tore him to pieces.

The old woman's son had two children. One day she went with some hunters to a spot in the jungle where there were some *envieira* trees [*Xylopia* sp.?] on the fruit of which toucans were

[4] Nimuendajú, Tukuna-Indianern, p. 191.
[5] The inner bark of this tree (*Coussiari* sp.?) furnishes the material for masquerade costumes.

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feeding. Each hunter hid in the top of a separate tree, from which he shot and killed the birds with blowgun darts. Suddenly the old woman appeared in jaguar form beneath the tree in which her son was sitting, and devoured his birds which lay on the ground. When she had disappeared, the son climbed down from the tree to collect the remaining birds. When he returned to the tree, a thorn pierced his foot and, as he sat down to extract it, the old woman jumped at the back of his neck and killed him. She wrapped his liver in leaves and took it home; when her grandchildren asked her what she had brought, she answered that it was tree fungi. Placing a pot over the fire, she cooked the liver. The children, already suspicious because their father had not yet returned, went to look into the pot and recognized a human liver. When the old woman went out to the jungle again, they secretly followed her and then saw her in jaguar form eating the son's body. Then one of the boys thrust into her anus a lance tipped with a pig's tooth. She fled, and the children buried what was left of their father, in an armadillo burrow.

They were already back at the house when the old woman arrived groaning. When they asked her what had happened, she replied that, while weeding the plantation, she had fallen on a stump and injured herself. But the grandchildren, upon examining the injury, recognized the lance thrust. Then they built a great bonfire in the house yard, and procured a long, hollow ambaúva trunk, splitting it lengthwise from one end only, so that the two split sections would snap together, vibrating, when thrown hard upon the ground. In this way they played with the log, making a terrific clatter in order to annoy the crone. At length she became enraged and stormed out of the house screaming: "My grandchildren! Why do you make such a racket when I am ill?" But they seized their grandmother and threw her into the fire, burning her alive.

The Man-eating Bat

In the old days there was a gigantic man-eating bat named vɨtɨ'me. If anyone stepped outside the house at night to urinate, the bat would pounce on him and carry him off to the top of a large burity-palm, where the creature devoured its prey. Once, a man who was obliged to step out of the house one night placed a wooden trough over his head and back. The monster at once attacked him, but grabbed only the trough, carrying it to the burity, where, realizing that he had been outwitted, he let it fall. Then other people who had to leave their houses at night employed the same ruse.

Finally, one of them marked vɨtɨ'me's course of flight with his victim and set out the next day to search in this direction. He arrived at the burity, under which was a pile of human bones and wooden troughs. The monster was lying in the top of the tree of which the trunk was sagging beneath his weight. The next day the man awaited the arrival of vɨtɨ'me under the tree and, when the bat flew down, fired four blowgun darts into his body. When vɨtɨ'me felt the effect of the curare he said, "If I die now, I shall fall into the game wallow (*eaãamã*), vuibɨ'me!" Then he flew up and fell down into the mud, where he sank so deep that only a section of the curvature of his back the size of a hand could be seen. The hunter followed him to the wallow and found him submerged. He called his children so that they might see the monster. Then he cut off the skin from the spot still visible and divided it into small pieces to feed his children, but the hide was so tough that nobody could chew it. The children threw the pieces away, and these turned into the blood-sucking bats that exist today.

Legends of Odysseys and Adventures

The Errors of čimɨdyuẽ'

There was a woman named čimɨdyuẽ' (čimɨdyuẽ'). Her husband, who thoroughly disliked her, took her with him on a hunt. When they met a band of coatá monkeys [*Ateles* sp.] he tricked her, saying that the white sexual parts of the monkeys were the kapok [sumakuma] tufts on the butt ends of the darts that he had already fired into their bodies. She was to wait until the curare took effect and collect the monkeys as soon as they fell, while he would go ahead to kill others. Then, after he had killed enough, he would whistle to her as a signal to join him. So saying, he set out for the house, leaving his wife alone in the jungle.

čimɨdyuẽ' waited for a long time in vain. The monkeys did not fall, nor did she hear the signal agreed upon. Then she realized that her husband had lied and had abandoned her. She did not

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539 know where she was or how to return home. "I shall accompany the monkeys," she said. The monkeys were eating sorva fruits [*Couma sp.*], and čimǰdyuə̈' gathered those which they dropped. At sundown the monkeys assumed human form, and one of them shouted, "There are human beings below us!" The others peered down and recognized the woman. "Why, it's čimǰdyuə̈'! What are you doing here?" "My husband abandoned me in the jungle," she answered, "and so I am accompanying you!" The monkeys arrived at a place where there was a large house. "Here are many hammocks," they said. "Lie down in one and sleep!" čimǰdyuə̈' obeyed, but the next morning there was no house, and the monkeys again had animal form. "I shall accompany you!" čimǰdyuə̈' told them, and wandered through the jungle with the monkeys. They ate sorvas and always threw down plenty for her to eat, so she was satisfied.

At last they reached the dwelling of the lord of monkeys, who had human form, though he was of a race of jaguars and lived in a big house. "What are you doing here?" he demanded of čimǰdyuə̈'. "I came with these people," she replied. "It is well," said the lord of monkeys. "I was waiting for them in order to begin my beer-drinking festival!" Then he ordered čimǰdyuə̈' to strain the beverage [caiçuma]. She brought water from the igarapé, strained the beverage, and everyone drank.

The lord of monkeys slept and snored through his nose, "I shall devour čimǰdyuə̈'!" čimǰdyuə̈' cried, "Grandfather, your nose is snoring my name and says that you want to eat me!" The lord of monkeys became enraged, ordered them to bring a large kernel of a *čaívarú* fruit, and struck himself on the nose with it until it began to bleed. Then he fell asleep again, but soon began to snore in the same fashion. Again the woman awoke him, whereupon he began to maltreat his nose furiously, catching in a gourd the flowing blood and drinking it. Then he ordered still more beer prepared, with the result that everyone was completely befuddled.

On the following day the lord of monkeys went hunting, but before departing he tied a long cord to čimǰdyuə̈'s leg, taking the other end of the cord with him into the jungle. From time to time he would tug at the cord to see whether the woman was still fastened to the other end. Now, in the same house there was a tortoise [jaboti], who was also tied fast. The tortoise told čimǰdyuə̈' that the lord of monkeys was really a jaguar who wanted to eat them both, and that it was high time for them to flee. He advised her to remove the cord from her leg and tie it to a house post; then both of them fled. They passed by the house yard of vɨ̨ˀkǰˀča,* a brother of the lord of monkeys, who was sitting at the door of his house with one leg crossed over the other. On the tortoise' advice čimǰdyuə̈' took a cudgel and struck vɨ̨ˀkǰˀča a smart blow across the kneecap; the pain made him draw up his leg immediately, while the woman yelled at him in her flight, "Don't tell *on* us!" [Today one may still see vɨ̨ˀkǰˀča in the constellation of Orion.]

When the lord of monkeys returned from hunting to find that both čimǰdyuə̈' and the tortoise were missing, he at once set out in pursuit. Arriving at his brother's place, he asked vɨ̨ˀkǰˀča if he had seen a "fat girl" pass by. However, vɨ̨ˀkǰˀča was furious with pain and answered that he did not want to be bothered with the "fat girl," since his knee hurt him horribly. Thereupon the lord of monkeys gave up his search and returned home.

While running through the jungle, čimǰdyuə̈' heard a knocking on wood. Thinking that it was some man, she followed the sound, only to find that it was merely a pɔpɔˀni bird. "If you were only human," she said, "you could show me the way to my father's house!" Then pɔpɔˀni answered that, if she would always follow the sound of his tapping, she would arrive safely home. But he lied, and she only became more hopelessly lost in the jungle.

At nightfall she encountered an *inambú* [*Tinamus sp.*], who was preening his feathers to puff them up. čimǰdyuə̈', however, thought that she was seeing an old woman plaiting a basket from uarumã; to her the outstretched wings looked like a house. She asked the inambú for permission to sleep there, which was granted, but shortly afterward the bird flew up to a tree limb, and čimǰdyuə̈' was obliged to sleep alone under the tree. When, on the following morning, the inambú flew down from the branch, again assuming human form, čimǰdyuə̈' asked the bird the way to her father's house. "Go in the direction in which I am plaiting these uarumã strips," replied the inambú; but this was also a lie.

That night čimǰdyuə̈' hid beneath an enormous ants' nest hanging from a tree; below it the ground was dry. But the ants' nest was really a jaguar, and at midnight čimǰdyuə̈' heard a voice

* See pp. 15, 142, 147.

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say, "I'll jump down on her!" "What did you say?" she asked in alarm. "I shall jump down on you!" repeated the ants' nest. But she fled just in time. Then, because of the numerous *mongubo* trees, čimʲdyuĕ' realized that she was in the bottom lands of the Rio Solimões. That night she slept among the root buttresses [sapopemas] of a kapok tree, but all the animals who saw her in her hiding place began to poke fun at her. 539

A big lizard shouted: "Look! čimʲdyuĕ' is sleeping among the root buttresses! I daresay she's hungry, but we have maize that we might roast for her!" And so speaking, the lizard produced a noise like maize cracking in a fire. A cururú toad [*Bufo* sp.] said, "As for me, I wouldn't live among roots like this čimʲdyuĕ'! I have my own house! But I'll prepare a few yams for her." And scratching the skin of her belly, the toad imitated the sound of scraping yam tubers. With this, the mistress of the kapok tree, the big, blue butterfly [*Morpho menelaus*], woke up. Yawning aloud, she said, "Now I shall go to naugeaʼne's plantation to eat pineapples!"

Now naugeaʼne was the name of čimʲdyuĕ''s father. "Are you speaking of my father?" At once inquired čimʲdyuĕ'. "Where is he?" "Not far from here," replied the butterfly. "Then take me there!" begged the woman. The butterfly flew ahead and, arriving at the banks of the Solimões, čimʲdyuĕ' saw with astonishment that her father's house was on the opposite side and therefore she had crossed the river without knowing it. Reciting a magic formula, the butterfly transformed čimʲdyuĕ' into a red dragonfly and flew with her to the other side. Then čimʲdyuĕ''s strength almost deserted her, and only through the help of the butterfly did she reach the opposite bank, where she at once recognized her father's plantation. She crushed the best pineapples for the butterfly, and then both went back. čimʲdyuĕ''s father, upon visiting his plantation, was astonished to see so many broken fruits. The next day he came with his wife, and both lay in ambush. When the butterfly and čimʲdyuĕ' came again, naugeaʼne recognized his daughter and tried to catch her, but she escaped.

Then naugeaʼne called together others to help him, and everyone hid in the plantation on the following days, but the butterfly and čimʲdyuĕ' did not return until the third day. The men managed to capture čimʲdyuĕ', while the butterfly escaped. "Help me, Grandmother!" shrieked čimʲdyuĕ' behind her, but in vain. naugeaʼne took his daughter home and gave her an emetic, so that she vomited violently and was thus restored to reason.

Some time later, čimʲdyuĕ' met her former husband at a feast. He had come dressed in a *nuúma'* mask and had a quantity of straw bound to his head. Deriding čimʲdyuĕ', he sang, "Now here comes she whom I abandoned under the coatá monkeys!" and so on. Hearing this, čimʲdyuĕ' procured a bit of cicantã resin and lighted it. Then she called to him, "Let me see your mask!" and, so saying, threw the blazing resin into the dry straw. He continued to dance until suddenly the flames sprang up. Feeling the heat, he ran from the house, trying vainly to remove his tururi costume. His belly burst with the heat. The poreʼnẽ bird dyed his plumage with the blood.

The Man Who Married the Jaguar's Daughter

There was once an Indian who lived with his mother and grandmother. One day a caiarára monkey appeared in the trees at the edge of the yard. "I shall kill it," said the man, and took his blowgun and quiver to chase the animal, which kept fleeing ever toward the depths of the jungle without giving the hunter an opportunity to use his darts. Finally, the man arrived at a house where a jaguar was living with his mother and two daughters, and he was the master of the monkey.

The daughters ran out to see who had been chasing their pet, saw the man, and asked him what he wanted. "I was hunting that monkey," he answered. "It is our pet," replied the girls, "but come inside and wait for our father!" The man entered the house and had not to wait long before he heard the jaguar arrive, roaring furiously, for he had already sensed the presence of a stranger in his house. Then the jaguar's mother hid the visitor in the loft.

The jaguar brought a collared peccary [taitetú; *Dicotyles tajacu*] that he had killed. "Where is the stranger?" he roared. "In the loft," answered his mother. "He is my nephew, so to speak." "Let him come down at once or I'll devour him!" commanded the jaguar. Trembling with fear, the man climbed down, and the jaguar licked him from head to foot. Then he threw off his skin, assumed human form, and sat conversing with the hunter while the daughters prepared the peccary.

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[1] A small lizard covered with white tufts like cotton.

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539 The old woman, however, drew the stranger aside and warned him not to show the slightest sign that the food was too highly seasoned with peppers. The meat, in fact, was so strongly spiced with peppers that the man was hard put to it not to show his pain. But he managed to conceal it, and this pleased the jaguar, who praised him, saying, "You're a real man!" Afterward he showed the man the way to his home, but the visitor could not find it and so returned to the jaguar's house. His host showed him another path, but again he lost his way and so was obliged to return to the jaguar's house once more.

Then the jaguar's two daughters asked the man to stay and marry them, but the grandmother was afraid of her jaguar son and asked her grandchildren to speak to him first. However, the jaguar agreed to his daughters' wishes. Then they addressed the man, while the jaguar stood to one side listening. The man also liked the proposal, remained in the jaguar's house, and married his daughters.

One day, however, he returned to his mother's house. He was very shy, and the jaguar spots were already dotting his skin. His mother pounded charcoal into powder and painted him with it. He ran to the jungle, where the two girls were roaming about in order to see what was happening to him. He never again returned to human society.

mɔ³manɛ'kị the Hunter and His Wives

a) mɔ³manɛ'kị's parents belonged to those first people [ma:'/gita] fished for by dyɔi' and ɛ'pi [see p. 129]. His only occupation was hunting. On the way, coming and going, he passed a frog who would dart into its hole at his approach, and each time mɔ³manɛ'kị would urinate into the hole. One day he saw a good-looking girl standing before the hole. mɔ³manɛ'kị looked at her and saw that she was pregnant. "I have become pregnant because of you," she said. "How can that be?" asked mɔ³manɛ'kị. "You always pointed your penis in my direction, and so I became pregnant," she replied. Then he asked her to come to his house and live with him. His mother also thought the girl pretty.

They lived together and she accompanied him on the hunt. He used to catch for her a kind of black beetle that formed her only diet. When his mother saw these beetles in the house, she said, "Why does my son soil his mouth with such filth?" He, however, ate only meat; his wife ate the beetles. The mother threw them out, putting peppers in their place. When mɔ³manɛ'kị called his wife to the meal, she placed her little pot on the fire and began to eat from it, but the peppers burned her mouth. Then she ran away and hopped into the water in the form of a frog. Her little son, who had remained behind, wept. She learned of this from a rat, but said in reply that she would have another child. However, at night she returned to the house and stole the infant from the grandmother's arms.

b) mɔ³manɛ'kị again went out to hunt. In the fruit cluster of a bacaba palm an arapaço bird was sitting. "Give me a gourdful of your drink also!" said mɔ³manɛ'kị in passing. When he returned, he saw standing at the side of the palm a pretty girl who offered him a gourdful of bacaba palm wine. He drank it and took the girl home to be his wife. She was in truth very pretty, but her feet were ugly. "My son," said his mother, upon seeing this girl, "couldn't you find a better woman than this one who has such ugly feet?" And, because her mother-in-law disliked her, the girl did not wish to remain with mɔ³manɛ'kị.

c) mɔ³manɛ'kị returned to hunting. He squatted down to defecate directly over the spot where an earthworm was burrowing. She poked out her head and remarked, "My, what a lovely penis!" mɔ³manɛ'kị looked and saw a beautiful girl with an extremely good figure. He cohabited with her, taking her home with him, where she gave birth to a child. When mɔ³manɛ'kị went hunting, he told her to leave the child with its grandmother while she herself went out to weed the plantation. She did so, but the child wailed so much that the grandmother decided to carry it to its mother in the plantation. There the earthworm woman had clipped the roots of the weeds beneath the surface over a large area, and they were already wilting, but the old woman did not notice it.

She repeatedly called her daughter-in-law, and when no one answered, she said angrily, "She was supposed to weed the clearing, and she hasn't done a thing!" She took a large river shell with sharp edges and began to cut the weeds. However, in so doing she cut off the lips of the earthworm woman, who was gnawing at the roots just below the surface. Only at night did she return to

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the house, and when her son cried, she said to mɔ'manɛ'k], "Give me my child!" But she could no longer speak properly. "What's the matter with you?" asked her husband. "Your mother cut off my lips," she replied. He lighted a torch and saw how she was disfigured. She left the house and never returned. 539

d) Again mɔ'manɛ'k] went hunting. A band of macaws flew over his head. "Give me some of your maize beer!" shouted mɔ'manɛ'k]. When he returned, a macaw girl was waiting for him at the precise spot with a large gourd of maize beer [chicha]. He drank it and took the girl home as his wife. His mother told the girl to prepare maize beer, threw down a quantity of corncobs that hung from the rafters, and left for the plantation. The girl roasted only one ear of corn and with it made beer enough to fill five large jars. Then she went off to bathe. When the mother returned to the house she tripped over the heap of maize and, seeing the cobs intact, began to scold, "This daughter-in-law of mine is the lazy one! She has not made beer for my son!" The girl, who was just then returning from her bath, heard the old woman scolding from afar.

Because of this she would not enter the house, and when her husband returned, she said that she was leaving. At dawn she told him that she wanted to retrieve her comb, which she had thrown on the roof thatch. Climbing up on the ridgepole, she began to sing:

"My mother-in-law has scolded me,
Now drink the beer alone may she!"

The old woman got up and, feeling around in the dark, found that the jars were filled. She called to the girl to return, and apologized, but her daughter-in-law refused to listen and transformed herself into a macaw. At daybreak she cried to mɔ'manɛ'k], "If you love me, follow me! Look for the a:'ru-pana [i.g., *louro chumbo*, laurel] tree, the splinters of which, falling into the water, become transformed into fish. Make a canoe from it and follow me downriver to Mount vaipɨ'!" [See p. 141]. And with this, she flew away to the east.

mɔ'manɛ'k] ran to and fro like a crazy man all the next day, searching for the a:'ru-pana. He tried several trees with his axe, until finally the splinters of one, which was next to a pool in the igarapé, turned into fish upon falling into the water. He felled the tree and began to make his canoe. Each day when he returned from work he brought such a quantity of fish that his brother-in-law marveled; since he was a lazy incompetent, he secretly followed mɔ'manɛ'k] to spy on him. When the splinters no longer turned into fish, mɔ'manɛ'k] realized that someone was watching him. "Are you the one spying on me?" he shouted to his concealed brother-in-law. "Come out and help me!" When the canoe was ready, the two pushed it down the sloping bank into the igarapé. While the brother-in-law was standing in the shallow water, mɔ'manɛ'k] suddenly reversed the canoe on top of him. Unable to crawl out unaided, the brother-in-law passed the night under the canoe, singing and crying. The next morning mɔ'manɛ'k] came and released him, inviting his brother-in-law to accompany him down the Solimões. mɔ'manɛ'k] was seated at the stern, and his brother-in-law was at the prow. Thus they drifted downstream without paddling. When they arrived among the people where the macaw-girl was staying, all the inhabitants ran to the bank to see the canoe; mɔ'manɛ'k]'s wife, however, hid behind the others. The brother-in-law, transformed into a mɔna'n bird, flew up and lighted on her shoulders. The canoe with mɔ'manɛ'k] still in it continued downstream a short way. Suddenly its prow turned up perpendicularly, and mɔ'manɛ'k], transformed into an a'iča' bird, flew to the woman's other shoulder. The empty canoe continued to drift at the mercy of the current and finally entered a large lake, where it turned into a dyĕ'vaš. It is the lord of fish in the Solimões and sends the migratory shoals of fish (piracemas) from that lake. [825]

d) Now mɔ'manɛ'k] married a girl of his own people. Every time she went to the landing, which was some distance from the house, her body divided into two sections at the waist: her abdomen with the legs remained lying on the bank, while the chest, head, and arms entered the water. The odor of flesh would attract the matrinchan fish [*Characinus amazonicus*, Spix], and she would catch them with her hands, stringing them on a liana. Then her torso would crawl on its hands to the bank and would again adjust itself on the lower part, from which the spinal cord protruded to the length of a finger.

mɔ'manɛ'k]'s mother was greatly astonished at the amount of fish brought by her daughter-in-law. She made manioc beer [caiçuma] and ordered the girl to fetch water. However, as the

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539 daughter-in-law delayed, after some time she became impatient and went to the landing herself. Seeing the lower part of the prone body, she immediately pulled off the protruding portion of the spinal cord. When the upper half crawled on the bank, it tried vainly to adjust itself to the lower half, finally climbing up to a branch overhanging the path. When night had fallen and his wife had not yet returned, mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkʲ took a lighted torch and went toward the landing. As he passed beneath the overhanging branch, the upper half of the woman sprang to his shoulders, where she became stuck. She would not let him eat, snatching the food away from in front of his mouth and eating it herself. He grew thin, and his back became filthy with the woman's feces.

mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkʲ went to his fish weir and dived in to see if any fish were in the trap [jiquí] behind the entrance to the weir. "There are many piranhas here!" he told his wife. "Close your eyes so that they will not tear them out!" Then, diving, he scratched her face with a piranha jaw which he had secretly brought along. When they returned to the surface, he lied, saying that the piranhas had done it and that it would be better if he dived alone. Then the upper half of the woman detached itself from his shoulders and lay down to wait on the bank. mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkʲ dived, returning with some fish. Again he dived, swam under water a good way, and fled without being seen.

The upper half of the woman perched on one of the posts of the weir. After a few days she began to sprout parrot feathers and, like a tame parrot, began to speak to herself and to try her wings. Hidden in the bushes, mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkʲ watched her daily. "Tomorrow I shall fly!" she cried, "I shall fly down the Solimões to where there are mountains!" The next morning she flew away, still chattering, while mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkʲ watched her departure from his hiding place.

u'nę̃'s Fishing

u'nę̃'s old father said, "My son, we have absolutely nothing to eat; how shall we allay our hunger?" "I shall go fishing," replied u'nę̃, "with timbó!" He called his brothers and his brothers-in-law, and the *curará* diving bird [*Plotus anhinga*, L.]. Altogether there were ten persons. Each one took a small piece of timbó with him. On the way they met two Tukuna, whom they invited to join them. u'nę̃'s road, however, went through the air, high above the jungle. He unrolled the road before him, and the last one in the column rolled it up again. He warned the two Tukuna that they would pass through a place where they would be afflicted with diarrhea; therefore each should carry with him a leaf container. One of them followed his instructions, defecated into the container and threw the feces down; the other, attempting to squat at the edge of the path, fell and disappeared.

u'nę̃ had told no one, not even his father, where he was going to fish, since, he said, he would have bad luck in fishing if he did so. Arriving at the place itself, u'nę̃ did not order a shelter erected. He sent the diving bird ahead to see if there were any fish and to find them something to eat quickly. The bird dived into the river and returned with a turtle, saying that there were many tambaquí fish there. They ate the turtle, and the next morning u'nę̃ said that he wanted to eat the "Father of Turtles," who was a gigantic serpent lying in a hole at the bottom of the river. u'nę̃ commanded the diving bird to trail timbó around the snake's nose. They all collected their pieces of timbó into a parcel, which u'nę̃ tied to the bird's back. The bird dived and circled for some time directly above the serpent's head. Then he appeared once more at the surface and told what he had done. Shortly thereafter, the snake's tail was thrust above the water's surface, and u'nę̃ ordered the bird to tie a line round it. Everyone tugged at the liana, and with great exertion they finally pulled a section of the snake (10 m. long) to shore. But suddenly the weather turned gloomy and cold, and a rainstorm began, because the serpent was the father of the cold spell ["Pai do Friagem," see p. 3]. They cut off the snake's tail section, dividing it among themselves and roasting the pieces with many tambaquís and turtles. Afterward they went home with all speed along u'nę̃'s road. He knocked on the road, which echoed like a struck sapopema, and thus announced his coming to those who had remained at home.

Then his mother-in-law prepared maize beer, and his old father was greatly pleased. They arrived, each with only a tiny leaf parcel. "Have you caught much?" asked the old man. "Yes, a great deal!" replied u'nę̃, handing his mother his parcel. When she untied the liana a whole stream of smoked pieces came tumbling out. They had to erect a huge grill in order to make room for his parcel and the other nine packages, which they did not open for the moment but only laid on top of the grill to warm.

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Origin of the Amazon

Two dyairẽ' [locusts] were traveling toward the headwaters of the Solimões in order to fish there, taking with them a Tukuna whom they met on the way. They unrolled the road before them and rolled it up again behind. They defecated into leaf containers which they threw to one side of the path. The Tukuna was seized by diarrhea and, not wishing to follow the example of the dyairẽ', squatted by the side of the path while the other two went ahead. When done, he ran after them, calling, but his own excrement answered him from behind. Returning to see who had called him, he knocked the feces to bits with a club. Then, still shouting, he hurried after the dyairẽ' once more, but this time each piece of his dung responded. Furious, he returned to scatter the excrement in all directions, but when he shouted to the dyairẽ', even more fecal voices replied. Then he paid them no further attention and journeyed up the Solimões alone.

Finally he reached a small pool of water, where two "vi" birds were playing, jumping back and forth over the water. "What are you doing?" he asked. "We are jumping over the pool!" they replied. "That is not difficult, since the pool is so small!" "Then jump over it yourself!" replied the birds. But when he started to do so, with one leg on either side, the pool suddenly widened, transforming itself into the Amazon River. He remained standing over it with legs apart and turned into an *uapuhy*.

The Sabiá Fowler

A man made a long fence in the jungle with several openings in it, each equipped with a noose [see p. 31]. After some time he returned to visit it, but found only a thrush [sabiá] in one of the snares. That afternoon he came again, but once more found only a thrush. The result was the same on the following day.

Then he built another fence and, when he had finished, returned to the first; again there was only a thrush in the snare. When he returned to his house, the others had caught many forest turkeys (mutum) and jacús in their snares, and laughed at him, so that he became melancholy. But when the next day he again found only a thrush, he became enraged: he forced open the bird's beak and broke wind into it, letting it fly away. When he returned home, he was already insane, chattering nonsense incessantly: of snakes, of rain, of the anteater's neck, and so forth. He complained to his mother that he was hungry, but when she offered food, he said that he had already eaten. Five days later he died, but still gabbled on. Mould and fungi grew on his body lying in the hammock, but he still chattered nonsense. When at last they came to bury him, he said, "If you bury me, fire ants will attack you!" At last they waited no more but buried him while he was still talking.